

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

*A Century of Coeducation
in Oberlin College*

FRANCES JULIETTE HOSFORD

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Father Shipherd's
Magna Charta

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BY

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BY

OBERLIN COLLEGE

FOREWORD

by

ERNEST HATCH WILKINS

IN THE FIRST CIRCULAR of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute, dated March 8, 1834—a document equally noble in spirit and quaint in phrasing—John Jay Shipherd, co-founder and enthusiast, listed among “prominent objects of this Seminary”:

the elevation of female character, by bringing within the reach of the misjudged and neglected sex, all the instructive privileges which hitherto have unreasonably distinguished the leading sex from theirs.

This is the statement which Miss Hosford calls “Father Shipherd’s Magna Charta”—as well she may. For he first, recognizing that the then current assumption of the intellectual inferiority of women was unjustifiable and absurd, opened the doors of his new Collegiate Institute to men and women alike.

“All the instructive privileges”: thus equipped, women were destined to take more and more completely their rightful place as peers of their brothers and their husbands—peers in knowledge, in thought, and in action.

The story of their gradual advance—still far from complete—belongs not to Oberlin but to the whole world.

Yet it is Oberlin’s pride forever that here first “all the

FOREWORD

instructive privileges" were proffered to men and women in full equality; and it may well be a matter of great interest to all members of the Oberlin family, and to many others, to hear how Oberlin women took these instructive privileges as their right, how in ways unforeseen they developed them, how they wrought Father Shipherd's dream into the substance of reality.

That is the story which Miss Hosford tells in this book.

Though she is dealing with the story of a great idea, she is constantly aware that the idea could live and develop only in and through individual human beings. Her history, therefore, is personalized history: she brings to life, and to vivid life, in groups or singly, the actual women who renewed and strengthened the idea, who were themselves, in their own varied achievements, the proofs of its validity.

One of them she omits: herself.

Her first graduation, in 1872, was from Lake Erie Seminary; her second, in 1891, from Oberlin College. In the intervening years she had taught in Elyria, Cleveland, and Painesville, and she had come to Oberlin in 1888 as Tutor in Latin in the Preparatory Department. From that time until her retirement in 1920 she was a vital part of the institution; and ever since her retirement she has been a welcome presence among us, frail in body, alert in mind.

She taught Latin in the Academy until the discontinuance of that division in 1916. For four years then she was Associate Professor of Latin in the College. Her administrative ability led to her appointment, first, in 1911, as Acting Dean, then, two years later, as Dean of Academy Women. In the College she served for three years as

FOREWORD

Assistant to the Dean of College Women, and crowned all her service by acting as Dean of Women in the difficult post-war year of 1919-20.

Her literary gifts and her scholarly interests led to the writing of several articles on Virgil, which were published in the *Classical Journal*. . . Those of us who have come more recently into the life of Oberlin think of her first, perhaps, as author of the series of delightful historical essays published in the *Oberlin Alumni Magazine*. To those pages one turned in sure anticipation of true scholarship illumined with twinkling humor. In 1933 she published a history of the First Church in Oberlin, under the title *A Living Stone*.

Twice in recent years she has stood as the center of honor in a great Oberlin company. At Commencement in 1931 it was my privilege to confer upon her the degree of Doctor of Letters. Miss Fitch, to whom, in deanship days, Miss Hosford had been so loyal a companion, paid her high tribute in presenting her for the degree. In making the award I ventured into her own old field, calling her—in words in the choosing of which Dean Cole had helped me—"rerum antiquae laudis et artis egregia narratrix, adulescentibus ad nobilitatem semper virentem dux eximia, Collegii Oberliniensis pia filia." As I gave her the diploma she replied quietly—though not forewarned of impending Latinity—"Gratias optimas, praeses, tibi ago."

In June, 1936, at the annual alumni meeting, Dr. Mosher, as President of the Alumni Association, gave her the year's Distinguished Service Medal—the first instance in which the award had been made to a woman.

FOREWORD

One hopes that the long and cordial applause which filled Finney Chapel on those two occasions has echoed in her heart in these latter years.

Our original plan for the Centennial Celebration of 1933 called for a series of publications; and the idea that Miss Hosford should be asked to write a history of the education of women in Oberlin College was one of the first and most obvious ideas of all. Her work was done eagerly and promptly: now at last it has proved possible to bring it to publication.

We are grateful to her for this book, for all that she has done for Oberlin, and for all that she has been for Oberlin. She published last November, in the *Christian Century*, a poem which is a noble *explicit* for her creative work:

TWILIGHT

Good was the day beneath the hasting sun,
The straining thew, the guerdon hardly won,
The duty done.

But good the hour, with jest and kindness rife,
To count the wage, and bless the Lord of Life,
At ease from strife.

And good it is, when falls the close of day,
To watch the sharp black shadows melt away
In evening grey.

Gleams from Beyond through the soft gloaming creep
. . . Star splendors pulsing in th' eternal deep
. . . Then cometh sleep!

CONTENTS

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Page</i>
FOREWORD	v
I. THE BEGINNINGS	i
II. THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT	14
III. THE WOMEN'S LITERARY SOCIETIES	43
IV. THE ARRIVAL OF THE COLLEGE WOMAN	56
V. NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES	80
VI. THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE TREE OF LIFE	109
VII. THE AGE OF MADAME JOHNSTON	139
VIII. QUO VADIS? CUI BONO?	165

FATHER SHIPHERD'S
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Chapter One

THE BEGINNINGS

IT WAS NOT BY ACCIDENT that Oberlin was founded one hundred and four years ago. At that time spiritual forces, engendered by religious awakenings, were undergoing a transmutation into the 'enthusiasm of humanity.' England saw great changes in the thirties—parliamentary reform, emancipation of slaves in the colonies, abolition of the commercial monopoly of the East India Company, better poor laws, the beginnings of national education. In America things were astir, though culminations were farther in the future. In the early thirties William Lloyd Garrison began the publication of the *Liberator*, and launched his epoch-making work on African colonization. About 1836 the Grimké sisters came from South Carolina to New England to testify against slavery and were, incidentally, "almost the first American women to open their mouths in public at all, outside a Quaker meeting." During the same years the evil of alcoholic drinking became more clearly recognized, and the forces were likewise assembling for this long struggle.

The opening of the machine age is deeply stained by its pitiless exploitation of labor, but the revolt against its

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

abuses brought into the world a different sense of human values, and of social responsibility. Its material output and its new mental and moral attitudes both contributed to a profound change for the better in the lives of American women. The cotton gin, patented in 1794, began a new epoch, though it took two generations for the output of cloth factories fully to supplant the wool and flax which had been raised and prepared on each farm for the clothing of the family. By successive steps the tedious and difficult processes of sorting, carding, spinning, dyeing, weaving were first curtailed and then forgotten. The women of the Massachusetts colony that settled Brownhelm, Ohio, in 1817, and Oberlin, in turn, sixteen years later, knew how to spin, but they did not know how to weave. Their mothers understood the whole process. The daughters of these spinning women stored the wheels in the attic, whence their descendants have brought them forth and restored them to places of honor.

By the early thirties the change in women's home occupations had been in large measure accomplished. It has been said that the cotton gin riveted the chains of the slave; it freed Anglo-Saxon young womanhood. Those beautiful years that are now given to happy girlhood life in school and college were once none too long for the spinster to earn her promotion into the rank of matron.

We have now a thousand aids to housekeeping of which the thirties never dreamed, but this was a time when many dreams of an easier household life began to come true. The kitchen fireplace was soon to be supplanted by a practical cook stove, less romantic, perhaps, but a boon to women,

THE BEGINNINGS

and incidentally the invention of one of Oberlin's founders.

The improvements in transportation had an influence upon woman's destiny which can hardly be overstated. When canals and steamboats, mail and freight wagons were established, the home supply of candles, soap, and sugar could be supplemented at need and farmers could get ready money for their surplus. Then, and not till then, could the daughter be spared from the toilsome life at home and be fitted out, though scantily, for a few years of study. The new day dawned upon womanhood when the complexities of primitive methods gave way to the conveniences of the machine age.

We must remember that former changes in women's home duties had merely transferred certain tasks from the mistress to the maid. They increased the leisure of no women except those belonging to the wealthy classes, and these classes naturally turned to social accomplishments for their daughters. The machine age released the daughters or sisters of doctors, ministers, teachers, farmers, small business men, thrifty tradesmen. By heritage and habit these girls took life in earnest.

And now certain thoughtful souls were asking whether women were receiving their share of the enlarging world and whether they were being prepared for its responsibilities. During the thirties a significant response came from what then were the three great sections of our country, the Southeast, the Northeast, and the Mississippi Basin. Three schools were founded, wholly or partly for women, schools which have lived and flourished to the present day. They were Georgia Female College, chartered 1836, opened 1839;

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary, chartered 1836, opened 1837; and the Oberlin Collegiate Institute.

Oberlin opened for instruction December 3, 1833, and received its charter February 28, 1834. Both Mary Lyon and John Shipherd displayed their Yankee caution in their choice of names for their schools. They looked forward to college work and college standing, but they would make no premature claims. Father Shipherd preferred 'Oberlin Collegiate Institute' to 'Oberlin College.' He said that it was less assuming, and moreover they might not be able to begin college work for a series of years. Nevertheless, the founders of Oberlin were canny enough to obtain university privileges in their charter, since they did not know when they might need them. They were thus empowered "to confer on those whom they may deem worthy such honors and degrees as are usually conferred in similar institutions." Unquestionably the 'worthy ones' were prefigured as young men, but nothing in their charter either required or prevented the conferring of degrees upon young women.

The college needed its university privileges sooner than the founders had dreamed. In the fall of that same year the first freshman class was organized—four young men, "all well prepared for those times" says President Fairchild, who ought to know, since he and his brother made up fifty per cent of the number. "They would have been admitted," he adds, "to any college in the country." By 1840 the young college had become so 'assuming' as to publish a detailed comparison of its course with Yale, book by book and page by page; and it had reasonable ground for its claim that the work of the two colleges was practically

THE BEGINNINGS

equivalent. The venerable institution by the Sound could have picked a hole or two in the new academic robe of her little sister on Plumb Creek; but this would have been a piece of family disloyalty, since five Yale graduates, three of them honor men, had already served upon the Oberlin faculty or board of trustees. If they could not evaluate the work of Yale, who could?

The Yale and Oberlin courses of study are still on record, side by side, and they show that early Oberlin was a real college of the strong New England type. The name 'Oberlin Collegiate Institute' proved misleading, and in 1850 it became 'Oberlin College.' The change was one of name only; it was not accompanied by any change in instruction, or in academic rights and standards.

Upon the eighth of March, 1834, Father Shipherd published the first circular of the Collegiate Institute. In this he numbers among its prominent objects,

"The elevation of female character by bringing within the reach of the misjudged and neglected sex all the instructive privileges which hitherto have unreasonably distinguished the leading sex from theirs."

This has been well called Oberlin's Magna Charta for womankind, but like an older Magna Charta it held implications unsuspected by its author. There was dynamite in the promise of 'all instructive privileges.'

What did he mean by it? He meant, in all honesty, fair play for women in the world of education.

What practical measures were implied? He did not know.

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

Two years earlier, when the project of a school and colony first took shape in his mind, he had cried exultingly to his wife, "The child is born;" but now he knew no more about the character and destiny of his offspring than the father of any other two-year-old. In his first catalogue he says, "The grand object is the diffusion of useful science, sound morality, and pure religion among the growing multitudes of the Mississippi Valley." Such small details as buildings, endowment, library, apparatus, faculty, grade of instruction, must work themselves out—as they did—by virtue of the undying energy and faith which he typified. The details of the instructive privileges to be brought within reach of the misjudged and neglected sex were to be worked out, like the other details, as time and circumstances should decree. Just here was his major gift to womankind—a great principle, clearly stated and made the basis of action, but never forced into a pattern. He merely showed that it was alive, and left it room to grow. He speaks of a 'female department' but it is plain that his idea of this was sketchy and remained sketchy. It was better so, for there was less to erase.

However shifting some of Father Shipherd's plans might be, there lay beneath them a dominant purpose strong as bed rock. He had pledged his life to the uplift of the newly begun, swiftly growing communities of the Mississippi Basin. The college and colony at Oberlin were but instruments, and so was the offer of 'instructive privileges' to women. He had no feminist theory to work out, but he had happened upon one of the Great Discoveries—that no civic aggregation can advance far beyond the status of

THE BEGINNINGS

its women folk. His wife might have taught him that, brave Esther Shipherd, the woman who had the power either to spoil his life or to bring it to rich fruition. At all events, he knew it, and so did Oberlin's other founder, Philo Stewart. In 1837 Stewart writes, "The work of female education must be carried on in some form, and in a much more efficient manner than it has been hitherto, or our country will go to destruction. For I believe that there is no other way to secure success to our great moral enterprises than to make prevalent the right kind of education for women."

Thus, out in the Western Reserve, an enterprise was undertaken that would provide young men of scholarly bent with an opportunity for mature study and would enable their sisters, newly liberated from household drudgery, to share in that study. Up to that time, the 'misjudged and neglected sex,' tantalized by shining vistas of learning glimpsed through academy doorways, had to sigh in vain for these fair upper reaches of intellectual attainment.

Several European nations had contributed to the education of American youth, but the paramount influence was transplanted from England. In the South it was especially close to the English model. The boys of good families were sent to England for their education, or to the College of William and Mary; the girls were home-trained with special attention to 'accomplishments.' In the North the establishment of the earliest colleges was due to the conviction that the Christian ministry must remain what it had been in England, a learned profession. It was this motive that quickened into life the group of early New England

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

colleges, Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, Williams. They were patterned after those of the old country. Of course they could not at once reach the English standard, but the effort resulted in a clearly defined curriculum. Latin, Greek and mathematics became the test of all scholarship. Latin schools to prepare boys for these colleges flourished in and after colonial times; many clergymen gave private instruction in the classics. These advantages were not for women.

When the influence of colonial environment began to tell upon educational ideas, it brought about increased attention to the education of girls; but the reaction was not the same in North and South. In the South, comparatively opulent, leisurely, and aristocratic, the early and fruitful interest in the more liberal education of women took the form of schools and colleges, so named, for girls. There are records of several of these founded between 1790 and 1825, although we know little about their achievements, since none has survived to tell the tale.

New England, poor, practical, democratic, solved her problem by a different method. The dame schools, though constant to type in their native old world soil, when transplanted to a freer environment became a starting point for coeducation; and in fact American revolt from the monastic type of education appeared in lower schools long before it reached the colleges. It had been conceded on both sides of the Atlantic that very little children might safely absorb a very little learning without regard to sex. It was left for the thrifty and ingenious Yankee to put schoolrooms and schoolmasters of more advanced classes to a double use. At first and in some places girls attended at different and less

THE BEGINNINGS

convenient hours. In the latter half of the eighteenth century the admission of girls to town schools of grade above the dame school was a common but by no means a universal custom.

Our early republic saw, in New England and westward, a vast increase of common schools, though as yet very imperfectly organized. It also saw the establishment of many academies, adapted to the needs of boys who did not expect to enjoy the advantages of a college. In the tens and twenties of the nineteenth century a considerable number of such schools were opened to girls.

We might infer that the girl of the nineteenth century could easily take the single step between academy and college. But it was here that she found a great gulf fixed. The only systematic articulation between preparatory and college studies was furnished by the Latin schools, including the so-called academies like Phillips Andover and Exeter which were Latin schools in plan and purpose. If a boy could not attend one of these, he might supplement the class work of his local school by extra Latin and special Greek with the master or the parson; most girls who so aspired would meet with refusal, if not with ridicule.

Preparation for college was almost impossible for girls, but not quite. We know that a few exceptional young women did attain Greek, and even Hebrew, and there is rumor of one Lucinda Foot who was actually certified to be fitted for Yale College in every particular except her sex! For no woman was there an open road to learning. By this time something had been conceded to the needs of girls, but the approach to college was steep and thorny, and

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

at the entrance to college they found a firmly closed door. New England could look with complacency upon the joint education of boys and girls in secondary schools through the adolescent years, but even New England could not consider the joint education of a more scholarly fraction culled from each sex in their years of comparative maturity. This was not a logical *impasse*. It was one of sentiment and tradition, although as the East finally achieved a magnificent group of colleges for women, we need not count sentiment and tradition wasted. If only the women have their chance, the system—coeducation or segregation—becomes a secondary matter—or no matter at all.

We should not quarrel with our forefathers because they failed to remove all the repressions by which their world was hedged. They did their full share. It took many experiments to remove the delusion that education is primarily a matter for division by sex; even now we sometimes forget that as soon as it becomes liberal education, it is like the other idealistic institutions of our race—art, literature, benevolence, religion—a meeting ground for the sexes.

In the early nineteenth century the female seminary had its vogue, and at its best it was deservedly popular. It developed outstanding leaders, whose quality would have made them great educators in any subsequent generation. Emma Willard was a notable pioneer. Catherine Beecher, teacher, writer, organizer, succeeded in gaining attention and moulding public opinion, as did the men of her famous family. Joseph Emerson, a cousin of the Sage of Concord, displayed the same creative insight, since he saw and evoked the possibilities of educated womanhood. He did not dis-

THE BEGINNINGS

cover Zilpah Grant or Mary Lyon. He did far better: he helped them discover themselves. Miss Grant, with the assistance of Mary Lyon, founded a school at Ipswich which became the mother school of Mt. Holyoke Seminary, now Mt. Holyoke College. The work of these pioneers is in vital connection with all higher education for women. They are, or should be, the patron saints of the college-trained womanhood of America.

New England influence made Oberlin possible. The bone and sinew of the Western Reserve in general and of Oberlin in particular was the strength of the Pilgrims and the Puritans. The gift of Oberlin to womankind was not a special creation—no Pallas Athene, springing in full panoply from the head of a Zeus of finance, to make her terrestrial dwelling place this college of the woods and swamps. It was the evolution of the New England idea, adapting itself to the environment of the free West. New England was not the mother, but she was the grandmother of college coeducation.

* * * * *

THE FIRST WINTER IN OBERLIN

(Extracts from Mrs. Shipherd's biography of her husband)

A manuscript in the Oberlin College Library

The following spring in May, [1833] I met Mr. S—at my father's in Ballston, Saratoga Co. N. Y. with a son six weeks old—where I spent the Summer, and we returned in Sept. to Elyria, where I left 3 little boys in the

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

care of P. P. Stewart and wife. We performed the journey in an open Buggy with a Willow Cradle at our feet, often remarking that it was the pleasantest journey we ever performed.

There were now 15 acres cleared at O—, and 5 or 6 log houses, also the Preparatory Hall enclosed. We were to occupy a basement Room under the Hall and I felt in haste to find my niche, more particularly to share my sympathy with the lone women in the woods. Two miles of the road, the underbrush was only removed, and it was impossible to sit in a buggy and ride over the roots of the Trees and I was compelled to walk and Carry my Babe in my Arms. We came to Plumb Brook, and the Bank was about 30 feet deep, and we were much puzzled to know how to get down. But Yanky-like we loosened the Horse from the Buggy and managed to get the horse [down], and then turn the vehicle backwards and let it go. Then by help I got safely down and got into the wagon to ride over the brook, which was somewhat [swollen], and again take up my march on foot. I now began to realize my former anticipations of missionary life. But these were mere trifles. Families and students came in before accommodations could be provided for them, as Lumber was to be hauled through the woods, and no man would go a second time for love or money, and we were compelled to open our door and give shelter to those who came. We received a family of eight into our one room, with 7 in our own family, where we lived three weeks. I would get my breakfast and clear away and then the other family, and so on through the day. An outsider said he did not

THE BEGINNINGS

believe two families could live together so long without quarreling, but we did, and were ever after good friends.

But everything was driven with rigor; the morning bell sounded at 5 o'clock, and families and students repaired to the Chapel for prayers, which was well for those who were able to endure, and as my husband was the Pastor at that time, I felt that I must do it for example's sake, if no other. But I never had studied the laws of life then as I have since. The consequence was, the next spring I was so debilitated that I could not sweep my Room, and I had to lay by until Nature rallied again. And what made it worse, we had not a green thing on our tables all that first summer. It could hardly be said that we longed for the "leeks and onions of Egypt." For our Cows got them in the Woods, spoiling the milk and butter, greatly to our annoyance. But I must confess that with my over-taxed powers and loss of energy, I did think of the cultivated Gardens and would have been thankful for the weeds that they cast out of the gardens for a mess of greens. It seemed impossible to shirk responsibility, which I had no desire to do as long as my strength held out. The interest felt day by day in seeing the work prosper and the Forest receding by the hands of many of the students, was stimulating to all, and not only that, but the buzz of the busy men building Houses making roads and workshops, &c., &c. Thus work went on. Students were arriving, and every House must be filled, and most were arranged with an eye to the accommodations of students.

Chapter Two

THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, manual labor was the latest fad in education. It was the time of young Theodore Weld, whose unique distinction it was to set the country aflame by lighting the bonfire of public opinion from two quarters—manual labor and anti-slavery. Manual labor in schools and colleges stood forth as the grand panacea for all physical, social, moral and financial ills of student life. This is not the place to discuss the implications of this idea, or to learn why, in spite of many discouragements, it has refused to die. Our main concern with it is to understand its effect upon the higher education of women in the thirties. It was upon the high tide of enthusiasm for manual labor that both Mt. Holyoke and Oberlin were floated out to deep waters. Mary Lyon's clear insight showed her just how far it could be safely trusted. For many years the domestic work at Mt. Holyoke and at its daughter schools was performed by the students. More than this Mary Lyon never attempted, and this she made an undoubted success. It was suited to her time and its customs.

THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT

The times changed, and she would have been the last to desire a forced continuance.

The difference between John Shipherd and Mary Lyon was the difference between the visionary whose dreams come true, but in unimagined ways, and the executive whose forecast is exactly realized. The earliest decisions of John Shipherd and Philo Stewart, the two founders of Oberlin College, included the manual labor system. Their own words show that this feature of the plan was very near to the hearts of both. In 1832 Shipherd secured a gift of five hundred acres of swamp and forest land, where now are the town and college of Oberlin. This gift was expressly for a manual labor school. In 1833 he promised, through the pages of the *Boston Recorder*, "a female seminary on the manual labor plan, including housekeeping, manufacturing of wool, culture of silk, appropriate parts of gardening, particularly the raising of seeds for market, the making of clothes, etc." It is clear that manual labor was intended to be a definite and permanent feature of the institution. It is also clear that the needs of the young women were fully appreciated and especially considered.

"The young women working at the spinning wheel and the loom will defray much of their expense," he writes before Oberlin was founded.

This Saint of Oberlin, like the Saint of India, knew that independence of character depended upon economic freedom, and both dreamed that a new measure of freedom could be reached through the old way of wheel and loom. The earliest Oberlin women eagerly accepted the opportunity of earning their education on the ground, but the

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

work furnished them was of the ordinary domestic type; the spinning wheel and loom were never in evidence. The third catalogue tells us that the majority of the women were paying their board by manual labor. Doubtless they thought so; but this is something which domestic work can never do, unless associated with productive industry. We cannot fill our dinner plates by washing our own dishes.

The Oberlin plan of student support by manual labor had its productive side, but this was mostly in the plan, rather than in its execution. The college farm, with livestock of sorts, the mill, the carpenter's shop, were intended for the labor of the men, and there was a deal of book-keeping of a primitive pattern—labor accounts with separate students. Labor was paid from three to seven cents an hour, and board cost from seventy-five cents to one dollar a week. Domestic work was rated lower than farm labor, but the scales were balanced by reduced living expenses for the women.

Before many years Oberlin made two discoveries: first, that four hours a day of manual labor were too many for a full-time student; second, that the chief crop on a college farm was bound to be a college debt. Compulsory manual labor made its farewell bow in the third catalogue. More or less of it remained a general custom for many years, with progressively less furnished by the college; the good citizens of Oberlin became very considerable employers of student labor, and indeed part of them were under a measure of title deed obligation to do so. The influence of the old foundation principle still survives in the design of the

THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT

college seal—a schoolhouse and a wheat field, with the motto, 'Learning and Labor'; in the still considerable proportion of students who defray some portion of their expenses by work; in a wholesome tradition of respect for the labor of the hand.

John Shipherd undoubtedly felt it to be of prime importance to find a gainful occupation through which women could secure an education. His early expensive experiment in silk culture seems largely due to his hope of a productive industry which women could share with men. We can not wonder that he thought it all-important when we remember that most fathers of his time and place could spare very little money for the education of either sons or daughters, and that expenditure for a girl's education seemed a nonproductive indulgence; that the market value of a woman teacher was about one dollar a week and board through the summer, with unemployment through the winter, when the large boys came in. He could not know that the 'desolate' Mississippi Basin of his beginnings would become a reservoir of national wealth; that wider opportunities for women would open as fast as they were ready for them; that fathers, instead of scouting the idea of a liberal education for their daughters, would deny themselves every pleasure rather than refuse them this best and surest provision for their future. He never knew that manual training, his most disastrous failure, would become a constituent feature of secondary education, and even an addition to the privileges offered by certain progressive colleges.

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

LADIES' HALL

Beginning with the second catalogue, we find a warning to young women, repeated thereafter year by year. They must not make the journey to Oberlin until they have been definitely admitted through correspondence. The experience of the first year had shown that this was a necessary precaution, though not to safeguard scholarship, since the preparatory department existed for the service of that large majority of both men and women who were not ready to begin a course of advanced study. It was because the one college building and the newly-built log cabins of the settlers could not accommodate the young women who wanted to come. Boys might rough it. They could, and if legend speaks truly, they did, spend nights in a group encamped in a single room, with one mattress in the center for a communal pillow, and the communal legs radiating to the four points of the compass. This discomfort need not last long, for any chap who wished it might build himself a log hut with a few days' labor, and the hut need not be airtight, since there was plenty of firewood. But girls were different. They must have something approaching comfort, and at least the elements of decency. Father Shipherd, writing six months before the first classes assembled, had opined that the female department would be "small for a season." From the first it was necessary to employ artificial limitation. If we could unravel the tangled threads of causation, no doubt we should find a notable influence operating for the rapid change in Oberlin from the rawest frontier conditions to a

THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT

comfortable standard of living, in the presence of a large group of intelligent young women.

In 1834, while the Institute possessed but one building, which was serving as boarding house, dormitory, chapel, church, class room, and office building, the fathers postponed all other demands and began Ladies' Hall. This was completed in 1835 and was assuredly not ahead of the demand. Catherine Snow came from Cincinnati in the spring of 1835 and has given an account of her first Oberlin experiences in a bit of the small attic of Peter Pease's log cabin, so crammed with other students that her fraction was aired and lighted by a loose shingle in the roof. Delia Fenn's remark, just before the completion of the new dormitory, "Four in a room are quite too many," is, as far as I know, the first recorded student's grumble in a home letter from Oberlin. We must admit that Delia's was a conservative protest.

This all-important Ladies' Hall was a homely, but also a homelike structure in the style of a New England farmhouse of the well-to-do sort. It accommodated sixty residents, but the dining room seated two hundred. This indicates that the admission of men to table privileges with the women was a plan in 1834, though in 1833 it may perhaps have been only an expedient. From these earliest days there come floating to us certain suggestions looking toward the establishment of separate schools for the sexes, but a definite proof that the founders were not actively interested in these is to be found in the situation of the new building. They were practically unlimited in building sites, and had they desired they might have begun a women's group on the

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

north side of the campus, near the new Shipherd home. Instead they built on the south side, in line with Oberlin Hall to the east. As soon as it was completed, the line was continued by Colonial Hall to the west, the lower part for the chapel and the class rooms, but the upper stories mostly dormitory rooms for men. While Ladies' Hall was building, two smaller dormitories for men were erected to the southeast and southwest. The year of their completion saw the beginning of Tappan Hall, accommodating ninety men and situated on the campus, north of the hall for women. If the founders did intend, as has sometimes been claimed, to establish separate schools as soon as they could afford them, they made a strange beginning. Ladies' Hall was ringed around with men's dormitories, classrooms for both sexes in the men's buildings, commissariat for both in the women's. No ladies' seminary ever found itself in such company!

The new dormitory contained an assembly room for young women and an attic room which became historic as the first home of the Ladies' Literary Society. There were adequate accommodations for the steward's department. After the crowd and confusion of that first building, with all its space put to double and treble uses, this must have seemed a very haven of peace and comfort.

Thirty years later another Ladies' Hall was built upon the site now occupied by Talcott Hall and Baldwin Cottage. This was of brick and accommodated one hundred residents, with a table capacity of two hundred. It was short-lived, for it was burned in 1886. There is still a fractional survival of each of these. Part of a wing of the

THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT

first Ladies' Hall is now a dwelling house in College Place. An addition to the second, built in 1881, stands on its original site, and serves as part of the women's gymnasium soon to be abandoned by the college.

THE PRINCIPAL OF THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT

On September first, 1835, Mrs. Marianne Parker Dascomb was appointed Principal of the Female Department, or, as we should now term her, dean of women. Her salary was \$200. As things went, this was liberal enough. It was the way to ask much and give little when women's work was concerned, and those leaders of the women's decade were content that it should be so. A constructive share in the glorious new work of the time was worth more than a fat salary, and they knew it.

Mrs. Dascomb should probably be considered the first of the stately procession of deans of American college women. It is, however, quite possible to claim this honor for her successor, Mrs. Alice Welsh Cowles, in whose administration the first women to receive the A.B. were admitted to freshman rank. Mrs. Dascomb's health necessitated her retirement after a single year of service, and Mrs. Cowles served but four years. Mary Ann Adams, an Oberlin graduate from the ladies' course, of the class of 1839, served for ten years as acting principal and principal. Then came an interval of three years, divided between two incumbents; after that Mrs. Dascomb again took the helm. In 1870 she was succeeded by Mrs. A. A. F. Johnston, Oberlin '56. Mrs. Johnston was Principal of the Women's Department from 1870 to 1894, and Dean of Women from

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

1894 to 1900. Thus it comes to pass that from 1835 to 1900, except for the three broken years, this important post was held by Mrs. Dascomb, Mrs. Cowles, and the Oberlin graduates whom they had trained. If these two women had a joint tradition, they had every opportunity to pass it on; a joint tradition is exactly what they did possess.

They were both of New England origin, and both were the wives of New England men. Their husbands held honor rank in Dartmouth and in Yale. Mrs. Cowles was a pupil of Joseph Emerson, whose school at Byfield was a fount of inspiration for Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon. Mrs. Dascomb was educated in Miss Grant's school at Ipswich. This seems fairly clear, though it has been said that both were pupils of Emerson, and again that both were taught by Zilpah Grant. We may all be right. The early schools of this group were peripatetic; teachers and taught were moving, both physically and mentally.

These schools at Byfield and Ipswich were *schools* in the best sense of the word, although they were not institutions, since they were too new, too poor, too grudgingly supported to take root in the soil. Nevertheless, a group of eager pupils led by strong personalities means a great school, and the Oberlin founders made no mistake when they welcomed this product as the best possible aid to their plans for the elevation of womankind. The college women of Oberlin and Mt. Holyoke are both heirs of Byfield and Ipswich; the two colleges are cousins under the skin.

John Shipherd and Mary Lyon worked out different solutions to a multitude of problems—coeducation or segregation; manual labor as an important end or a subordinate

THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT

means; a colony to nurse the college or a single building to isolate it; the training of youth eight years or three; the burning question of color. Such divergencies seem radical, but most of them are but the evolution of the same idea in the path-worn East and the foot-free West. The two schools were alike in soul. We find the same intense religious conviction, the same democratic attitude, the same desire for the solid, not the showy, in education, and the same acceptance of education as a sacred trust for service, not for personal advantage.

The present tendency with colleges, as with individuals, is to get rid of idiosyncrasies and make them all alike. But those of us who are blessed with long memories may recall certain usages and certain words at Oberlin and Mt. Holyoke—words and usages which mark kinship, like the eyes and noses in family portraits. One of these is the ‘general exercise.’ This was an informal address by the principal, upon any subject which she thought that the young women might profitably consider. An Oberlin woman once remarked that the ‘general exercise’ was a purely Oberlin institution—nothing like it elsewhere. The truth is that Mary Lyon conducted general exercises in earliest Mt. Holyoke, and they became a feature of Mt. Holyoke’s daughter schools. Mrs. Dascomb or Mrs. Cowles brought it to Oberlin, probably as early as the opening of Mt. Holyoke, or earlier. If we could unlock the chambers of the past, we should, I think, come upon ‘general exercises’ in Byfield, or Ipswich, or in both. The ‘sections,’ too, belong to the first year of Mt. Holyoke, and to the first reported organization of the female department at Oberlin.

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

THE LADIES' BOARD OF MANAGERS

The female department first appears as such in the catalogue of 1838, though we can trace its constituent parts back to '35 and '36. It was not a separate entity and never has been, but it had a page of its own as follows:

FEMALE DEPARTMENT.

MRS. E. SHIPHERD, MRS. M. H. MAHAN, MRS. L. R. FINNEY, MRS. A. W. COWLES, MRS. M. P. DASCOMB,	}	LADIES' BOARD of MANAGERS.
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MRS. ALICE W. COWLES, Principal,
MISS MARIA COWLES, Assistant Teacher.

MISS MARY ANN ADAMS, MISS BETSEY BRANCH, MISS MARY E. GRANNIS,	}	Assistant Pupils.
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MISS MARY ANN ADAMS, MISS CATHARINE GILLETT, MISS JULIA M. READ, MISS ZEURIAH [sic] PORTER,	}	Superintendents of Sections.
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THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT

It was not by accident that the page devoted to the female department was headed by the Ladies' Board of Managers. The ladies' board belonged at the head. The female department was never in fact a department of instruction, and if ever so intended the scheme was never promoted. But it was a department of administration in dead earnest, and was the paramount authority, independent of the faculty, responsible only to the board of trustees. In theory it was absolutely distinct from the faculty; in practice there were close personal contacts, since in early times the members of the board were without exception the wives of faculty members or of trustees. It must be remembered that there were no women upon the faculty, and therefore there was no possibility of a faculty committee of women to attend to the interests of women students.

We do not know who invented this device—unique, I believe, in the educational world and planned to fit unprecedented circumstances. The device itself has been the object of many good-natured gibes and of not a few caustic criticisms. But it is hard to suggest a better plan, as things were. We may perhaps wonder how the founders dared to bring together hundreds of young men and women, many of them weeks away from their homes, to live and work together in a wilderness. But here they were, and all about them was the captious world, greedy for news of the failure of the queer adventure. The founders knew this. In spite of the pressure of other needs and problems they felt it imperative to build a hall of residence for women and to select a principal of the female department. They trusted to the ordered dormitory life, to rules that were shaped by

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

long standing conventions, to the willing cooperation of both men and women students in sustaining these conventions, and to the friendly oversight of the Ladies' Board of Managers. They put the girls under the charge of their finest group of married women. The venture was justified by its success.

The college had more than its share of malicious slander, because of its position on the color question and other radical measures which now seem conservative; but the fair fame of Oberlin's daughters never needed any other defense than the plain truth. Every trustworthy picture of early Oberlin presents to our view a group of clean, wholesome young men and women, working together, sharing the same table, taught by the same professors, after graduation marrying each other, and living happily ever after to an extent that would drive a novelist of the realist school to despair. They were simple folk, and they supposed that a mutual regard for human rights was the basis of human well-being. They had never been taught to demand a 'self-expression' which involved the repression of other people.

The ladies' board, through most of its long career, was neither a superfluity nor an impertinence. It had its inherent shortcomings. Of course the women of the board were conservative—first because they were women, and then because they were loyal and happy wives of good men. For fifteen years not one of the women chosen to regulate the conduct of college women was herself college-bred, a situation inevitable at first, since in 1836 there were no college-bred women. The ladies of the board had the narrow horizon of home women who have never known en-

THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT

larging studies or experience in the outside world. They were not business women. If they had a secretary and preserved the minutes of their reports and votes, there is no trace of these until late in the century. It is true that since much of their work was related to the problems of individual young women, and since the personal problems of individual young women are much better left unpublished, the tradition of silence and forgetfulness about the deliberations of the board had reason on its side. But their habit of secrecy and their independence of the faculty produced in time a star chamber atmosphere, at least in repute. No one except the trustees had the legal right to call for a report or to interfere with their decisions, and Oberlin trustees had early been notified that matters of internal administration were not their affair. The presiding officer of the board was the Principal of the Female Department, but she was not a member of the faculty; so there was no connection at this point. Undoubtedly there was practical cooperation between the faculty and the board. Wives consulted their husbands, and the Principal consulted the President, but legally the ladies' board was a law unto itself. As far as faculty powers were concerned, it was invincible and immortal.

The 'advanced woman'—a troublesome creature, reappearing with each student generation and ever more advanced—never got on well with the ladies' board. Sometimes she experienced regrettable repression at their hands, as both Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown could testify. At other times the repression, while just as actual, was not so regrettable.

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

In time the 'ladies' of the board were modernized into 'women,' but the new title sat uneasily upon the now venerable institution. With the passing of any course of study designed especially for women, the remaining functions of the board were mostly disciplinary. When women began to come into the faculty, these of course were college trained and better fitted to deal with college situations. It became increasingly evident that a disciplinary body originating neither with the faculty nor with the student body was an anomaly.

In certain parts of the world it was once the custom to dispose of unwanted but highly respectable officials by suggested self-destruction. I am told that before it came to this the official would receive a very definite intimation that his suicide would be acceptable, and the stoical precision with which he cut himself to pieces became the crowning glory of his career.

Thus was the passing of the ladies' board. Sundry unmistakable hints had aided its decision that its usefulness was at an end, and with all due dignity and decorum it committed *hara-kiri*. There were few to regret its demise and none to recall the time when it was indispensable. Presently its functions were transferred to an undergraduate women's league, in cooperation with the dean and a committee from the faculty. So the world changes.

WAS THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT NEGLECTED?

In February, 1834, the Reverend Benjamin Woodbury, Oberlin's financial agent, visited Ipswich and discussed the

THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT

new school with Miss Grant and Miss Lyon. He found both ladies deeply interested in any plan looking toward better opportunities for women. He says that the teachers and students at Ipswich contributed \$350 for the new school. With money values and with women's wages what they were, this was a right royal gift. He gives splendid testimony to the generous nature and the wide vision of Mary Lyon when he reports that out of her own scanty means, confronted with the Herculean task of collecting funds for her own school, she, personally, gave Oberlin \$150. He writes, "They like the plan of Oberlin much, but are much afraid that the female department will be neglected. Dear Brother, you will see to this. Do not let the female character suffer for the want of proper house, teachers, instruction, etc."

Mary Lyon laid her plans as if she were making a clock. Funds and building, teachers and their duties, students and their entrance examinations, the course of study, the domestic work—every wheel was in its right place; and when starting-time came for Mt. Holyoke Seminary, every wheel moved. Father Shipherd dreamed, and his dreams came true—with such alterations as are customary in dreams. His school opened on December 3, 1833, because it had been promised and the students were arriving. Indeed, they came only too promptly, since not a single faculty member arrived before the May of 1834. The Reverend Seth Waldo, graduate of Amherst and Andover, had been engaged to open the school, but serious illness delayed him. It became necessary to import an undergraduate from Western Reserve College to take charge until the first faculty, consisting

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

of three men, graduates of Amherst and Dartmouth, could accomplish the westward trek.

The founders began the building of Ladies' Hall after the first women had arrived, much as they threw Slab Hall together when the men were on the way. The fears of Miss Lyon and Miss Grant were fully realized. Amid the pressure of other demands the female department *was* neglected. Could they have known the outside facts and nothing more—that more than a year would elapse before a lady principal was selected; that the first two catalogues would give no intimation of any plan for the systematic education of the young women who had been encouraged to enroll in the new institution; that the course finally established was not to be published until 1838, and probably not until after Zeruah Porter had fulfilled its requirements, so that she would seem to have made the course of study as she went along; that until 1845 the authorities did not count Miss Porter or her successors as Oberlin graduates—could the ladies of Ipswich have known these things, they must have felt that their worst fears fell short of the truth. And yet beneath this seeming chaos the women students were shaping the course of Father Shipherd's great experiment—not consciously forming Oberlin policies, but using their free access to 'instructive privileges' to prove their ability and assert their aims. This meant that they were clearing the way for other women.

It must be remembered that the eager young people who taxed to its utmost the accommodations of the new college in the woods—many of them in its lowest preparatory

THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT

grades—were infinitely removed from the backward student of these times, who is belated because of incompetence or indifference. And the women especially must have felt their hearts burn within them. Out of that first glad impulse noteworthy results came forth, results that would never have appeared under a more systematic founder. Father Shipherd was the last man to map out the female intellect and prescribe in accordance with his theory; and the result was that the female intellect, freed from its traditional limitations, could find a new course. What Shipherd did was to give the women their chance and then attend to other things while they did what they could with that chance. What the women did was to make more of their opportunity than anybody expected. These Oberlin girls of the thirties, themselves barely introduced to the joys of student life, of their own initiative planned and executed two measures of lasting significance in the intellectual history of women.

In 1835 they organized the Young Ladies' Association of Oberlin Collegiate Institute, still flourishing, the oldest women's club in any college, and one of the first definite manifestations of women's talent for organization.

In 1837 four young women, well-fitted in the Oberlin preparatory school, asked and obtained admission to the freshman class. In 1841 three of their number had completed the full college course with credit and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts—the first recorded women to accomplish this task and receive this award.

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

THE COURSE OF STUDY FOR YOUNG LADIES

If we read between the lines of Oberlin's early catalogues, and reinforce this by the testimony of eye witnesses, we shall find an unmistakable record of the limited and repressed lives of women. Why did forty-four girls, thirty-three of them from homes outside Oberlin, make their toilsome way to the little clearing in the forest during that first year, before they could be made decently comfortable? Why, in spite of the annual warning not to come without promise of admission, were their numbers more than doubled in the third catalogue, almost quadrupled in the seventh? It was because advantages for women were so precious and so few. Why did one third of the thirty-three make the long journey by wagon and canal from New York or New England, the home of coeducational academies and young ladies' seminaries? Why did several, during these early years, come from their own centers of culture, New York City and Boston? It shows that such schools as had then been opened to women were too few, and the best too expensive, to meet the needs of their own locality, to say nothing of the wide new West. Men and women came to Oberlin at the same time, and both were present upon the opening day, December 3, 1833; but why were four young men ready to begin a standard freshman year in 1834, and no women? During the first five years the theological seminary and the upper college classes received a relatively large number of men entering with advanced standing. Why did no woman enter with ad-

THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT

vanced standing from another college? In 1838 the Institute had graduated twenty-eight men from the theological department, twenty-four from the collegiate department. One woman, Zeruiah Porter, then completed the assigned work in the course of study for young ladies. Why only one, from this less exacting course, and this lone woman five years after the opening? In 1841 there were in all forty-one graduates from the Theological Seminary, and sixty-five men from the College, while twenty women had completed the course of study for young ladies. That year, for the first time, three women received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Why did the women so lag behind the men? Because they must needs climb from the very foot of the ladder. Dr. Taylor remarks of the first college group at Vassar, "The majority were within a year of freshmen if not indeed freshmen, but their education had been uneven, irregular, unsystematic, and some were unbelievably untrained." If this was true in 1865 upon the Hudson River, what could be expected in 1833, upon Plumb Creek in Ohio? The earliest Oberlin women were not ready for advanced work, nor could they make ready without many long years in the preparatory department. It is true that a large preparatory department was needed by most, if not all, of the earliest colleges of the mid-west, but it was possible for an able and ambitious boy to make ready for college in other ways. It was not possible for a girl, unless for the few exceptionally situated.

The announcement of the course of study for the female department was first published in 1836. It was plainly tentative, since the plan there outlined required only three

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

years, while the catalogue of 1838 substituted a four-year course. In history, English literature, philosophy, and the sciences, the women of the ladies' course shared most of the instructive privileges of the college men, though these were then scanty in all American colleges. In mathematics, Latin, Greek, those bulwarks of the old-time college, their course could not compare with any standard college course, and even the little Greek offered them was made optional in 1839. The only 'frill' was linear drawing.

It should be added that every college study was open to any competent woman who desired it, and we are told that many women added something of ancient languages to their curricula. Hebrew had a special vogue, but it was short-lived.

The anomalous nature of the ladies' course is evident to us; in the thirties, with their rigid educational standards, it was even harder to classify. Oberlin had a course that was not a college course, running side by side with a full college course. Nobody knew what should be done with the output of the course of study for young ladies. The first woman to complete its assigned work was Zeruiah Porter, 1838, and there was no way to label her. She received no degree and no diploma. The graduates' catalogue of 1842 did not contain her name, or the names of the twenty-five women who completed the same course from 1839 through 1842. The young women of '39 or '40 did introduce a bit of concluding ceremony, though this was social and personal, not official. They issued cards of invitation to their friends, for the evening before commencement. The meeting was held in the assembly room of

THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT

Ladies' Hall. Each young woman read an essay, but there were no degrees, no diplomas, no graduates. In 1841 the course reached partial recognition by a unique process—a process which, oddly enough, belongs to the history of the Ladies' Literary Society and will be explained in the following chapter.

As the years went on, the ladies' course was strengthened and balanced until it reached an excellence which made it a real rival of the rigid classical curriculum of the old days. At first the lack of a degree was not important, for women were not expected to have degrees. Through many years the classical course and the course of study for young ladies journeyed side by side. Most women chose the latter, especially those who were docile and amenable to advice from the powers that were. There were few commencements that did not witness the graduation of women from the classical course, but not in large numbers. In 1883, at the close of the first half century, eight hundred and thirty-nine men and one hundred and thirty-five women had taken the degree of A.B. Seven hundred and three women had then received the diploma of the course especially designed for them. In the seventies this became the literary course; but the course of study for young ladies, though called by any other name, came to the same thing. It was the popular course for women students. The total number of A.B. alumnae through Oberlin's first fifty years is less than the annual number since 1920, in spite of the present rigid limitation of enrollments.

For a long time the Oberlin authorities rested upon the hypothesis of the exceptional college women for whom the

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

classical course was advisable and the normal college woman for whom it was not. This hypothesis was strong enough to support their policy until the alumnae of other college systems arose, to compete with the Oberlin graduates without a degree. Women's colleges in the Northeast began with Elmira in '55, followed by Vassar in '65, Wellesley in '75 and Smith in '81. Mt. Holyoke realized the dreams of Mary Lyon by advancing to college rank, and most of her daughter schools went and did likewise. The organization of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, which helped college women to realize themselves and to work together, was a notable event in this era. The Association of American Colleges was of great benefit to college women by furnishing a standard independent of sex whose authority all must acknowledge. According to these modern tests the alumnae who had taken Oberlin's degree were accepted college graduates. Those who had only her diploma were not.

Oberlin officials received uncomfortable letters from their most loyal graduates; they had chosen their course, said certain women, in accordance with the advice of their lady principal and their professors. Now they were at a disadvantage in the occupational market. The conservative wing of the faculty might have been glad to point to Oberlin's large majority of married alumnae and to claim that the first care of the college had been the needs of future wives and mothers. Alas! Some of the strongest protests came from the married 'lits.' The woman's club in some form, with its combination of the social and the studious, ministers to the special need of the woman

THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT

whose work lies with home and family. And for women who had been trained in a college atmosphere the most attractive club group was the Association of Collegiate Alumnae. The A. C. A. admitted to full membership only those who possessed degrees.

The man who did for Oberlin womanhood at the change of the centuries what John Shipherd had done in the early nineteenth, was President Henry Churchill King. It was during the earlier part of Dr. King's constructive work, and in accordance with his convictions, that a special group of problems relating to women, both as faculty members and as students, were successfully solved. Dr. King found the Oberlin woman a special case, and left her a constituent part of the whole. In 1894 the last diplomas without degrees were given, and they were few.

These changes in Oberlin were connected with a sifting and a shifting of educational values the country over. College electives ran wild for a few years, but after they were properly grouped and competently supervised they ushered both men and women into a larger and a freer world. Incidentally, the strongest arguments for a ladies' course disappeared like frost before the sun.

Nevertheless, there were those who thought that the older way was the better way for many of the finest and most promising young women. They thought that a plan which had worked so well for more than half a century had better go on working, since women still needed a scheme of liberal education in which the friendships and the wide contacts of college life could be experienced and its aspirations be realized, without expenditure of the time, money, and

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

nervous force involved in a training which was, in origin and intention, preprofessional. These thought it highly desirable that there should be an education with worthy life, rather than scholarship and research, as its goal. Even in the eighties something of this was thought and said, and even then there appeared in print the contention that men, perhaps even more than women, needed a type of education which should bring breadth and vision and ideal interests into the world of affairs.

It is interesting to note that Oberlin, after carrying through her first century the various problems and implications of 'bringing within the reach of the misjudged and neglected sex all the instructive privileges which have hitherto unreasonably distinguished the leading sex from theirs' should begin her second hundred years with a project to extend 'instructive privileges' into a sphere where both sexes have been misjudged and neglected—to the vast deformity of our civilization. The 'general college' so prefigured and named by President Wilkins, would not be an introduction to the preprofessional, but a co-ordinate ally, and would be planned to produce, not more exhaustively trained specialists, but better citizens and a happier world.

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THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT

Following is a 'letter home' from Delia Fenn to her father. The family lived in Tallmadge, only thirty-five miles from Oberlin, but hard to reach when roads were bad. Postage was an item which called for economy.

Oberlin, Aug. 21, 1835.

Dear Father,

I do not know as I ought to write now & send by mail, as I have an opportunity to send by private conveyance in the course of 2 or 3 weeks, but I do not like to wait till then, for I have some things I want to tell you now.—They are going to have but two prices for board, which are going to be 6 shillings a week for those who sit at the vegetable, and 7 shillings for those who sit at tables where they have meat once a day. They are not going to have any Graham table. All must sit at the meat or vegetable table. I of course go to the latter. At this table they live well, have puddings 2 or 3 times a week, and frequently boiled rice. They also have garden sauce, such as berries, potatoes, squashes, beets onions, &c., and frequently baked apple.—

I find there are a great many more wanting to come here than I a short time ago had any idea of. Mr. Shipherd said yesterday that he had no idea but if they should receive all who make application there would by next July be a thousand in the Institution. People are looking here from all quarters. They have nearly finished the building they were to work at when you were here. It is done off quite handsome. The rooms are quite good size with a clothes press in each one, a washstand also, and its materials. This

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

building is designed for the ladies.—They are going to have but two in a room. This will be pleasant, 4 is quite too many.—

My love to you [torn]

Delia F [torn]

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THE COURSE OF STUDY FOR YOUNG LADIES

From the Catalogue of 1838

Preparatory Department. Reading, Spelling, Writing; Arithmetic, Colburn's and Adam's; Geography, Grammar and Composition.

The studies of the regular course are as follow [sic]

First Year. English Grammar; including analyzing and the study of Poetry; Ancient and Modern Geography, on the topic system; Sacred Geography; Histories of Greece, Rome and England; Webster's United States; Nevin's Biblical Antiquities; Emerson's Watts on the mind; Greek for such only as design to take a full course; Linear Drawing.

Second Year. Universal History; Botany; Algebra; Olmsted's Natural Philosophy, abridged; Whately's Logic and Rhetoric; Paley's Evidences; Cowper's Poems; Town's Analysis; Hopkins' Christians Instructor; Greek of the New Testament for such as take a full course.

THE FEMALE DEPARTMENT

Third Year. Legendre's Geometry; Herschel's Astronomy; Chemistry; Milton's Poems; Leslie on Deism; Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind; Jahn's Archeology.

Fourth Year. Astronomy completed; Butler's Analogy; Milton's Poems completed; Lectures on Intellectual Philosophy; Wayland's Moral Science with Lectures; Ecclesiastical History; Principles of Sacred Interpretation; Lectures on Theology.

Compositions, and Exercises in Reading throughout the course. One lesson weekly in the English Bible.

Practical Lectures on Physiology interspersed throughout the course.

Whenever the course of study admits of it, the young Ladies attend the regular recitations of the College Department.

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FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

Transcript of a Diploma of the Ladies' Course

LADIES DEPARTMENT

OBERLIN

COLLEGE

CHINTE L. BOWEN

having with commendable diligence and proficiency passed through the Ladies course of study pursued in Oberlin College, the Trustees on the recommendation of the Faculty and the Ladies Board of Managers, award to her this testimonial.

[Signed] Hamilton Hill, *Secretary*

[Signed] M. P. Dascomb, *Principal*

[Signed] C. G. Finney, *President*

Oberlin College

August 25th, 1863

"Chinte's" name was properly Cynthia Eliza, but the diminutive appears just as frequently in her college record and was evidently her preference at the time of graduation, when she no doubt longed to be in fashion with the "Hatties," "Lizzies" and "Susies" of the day. In her later years she returned to the more dignified form, and Chinte L[izzie?] is once more Cynthia Eliza in the official list of graduates.

Chapter Three

THE WOMEN'S LITERARY SOCIETIES

THE AMERICAN LYCEUM was an organization, or a group of organizations, which did much to foster the ideals of culture amid the huge material tasks of our early republic. Its palmy days coincided with the women's decade and with the founding of Oberlin. It was in accordance with this general movement that Oberlin young men organized the Oberlin Lyceum in 1834, including both students and townsmen. This body had a corporeal existence of two years only, and "expired," to quote President Fairchild, "without any legal successor." After an interval of three years the college men organized two literary societies; thirty years after, they established a third to accommodate increasing numbers. These three associations played an important part in college life through the larger part of Oberlin's history, but the shifting of college interests finally thrust them aside. No men's literary societies are now functioning at Oberlin.

The young men's lyceum lived long enough to suggest to the young women that they might have a society of their own. While the American Lyceum was established for the improvement of young men, women were more or less

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

connected with its affairs, attended its lectures and other public functions, and in some places had organized study groups. Oberlin's Ladies' Literary Society began only one year after Oberlin's Lyceum; but representing, as it has, that half of the human race which has been, from the cave-dwelling period onward, more conservative, more amenable to organized interests, and more skillful in adaptation without destruction, it celebrated its centennial in 1935.

The main facts concerning the Ladies' Literary Society and its daughter, the Aelioian, are fully established. There is considerable discrepancy in the details of both histories, largely due to the fact that the records of L.L.S. before 1846 have disappeared, and that the first secretary's book of Aelioian has been seriously mutilated. Fortunately, in 1907, the president of the Ohio and West Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs requested Mrs. A. G. Comings, Oberlin '77, a member of L.L.S., to collect and present the early data of her society. Her report was published in *Club News*, then the official organ of the Federation. Mrs. Comings had access to many sources of information which are now closed forever. She spared no pains to make the most of them, writing and receiving scores of letters, through which she collected the testimony of those oldest Oberlin women who have since passed away. Much of her information about those earliest times came through Alice Conkling, '73, the daughter of Mary Ann Adams Conkling, '39.

Mary Adams entered Oberlin in 1833 and was a charter member of L.L.S.; her name appears in nearly every catalogue through 1849, as student, assistant, acting principal,

THE WOMEN'S LITERARY SOCIETIES

finally principal of the women's department. Her daughter inherited documents concerning the earliest history of L.L.S. Miss Conkling examined these for Mrs. Comings and wrote out a bulky report of the results of her findings. Unhappily these precious manuscripts cannot now be found, but Mrs. Comings embodied in her paper much information from them.

A fortunate mistake, made by the *Jubilee Notes* in 1883, gives other testimony. The *Notes* stated that L.L.S. began its career in 1846. Then came rebuttals, to which the *Notes* replied that the records of L.L.S. went back only to 1846. This brought a statement from the Rev. Charles Conkling, whose wife, Mary Ann Adams Conkling, had died in 1870. He wrote that he possessed records in the handwriting of his wife and gave the time, place, first officers, and first article of the constitution of the first society. The *Jubilee Notes* saved its face by suggesting that the early society "seems to have been reorganized later." However, we know from other testimony that the Ladies' Literary Society was very strong in 1841, and we have its records from 1846. There cannot have been any lengthy period of suspended animation, and I know no reason to suppose that there was any, but the society records can never be as exact or as complete as they would have been if the records in Mary Ann Conkling's handwriting had been preserved.

Mr. Conkling's date of formation is definite and tallies with the evidence of anniversary programs, which regularly date from 1835. He gives the month and day, July 21. He says "the lower hall of the Seminary," and this is not

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

as clear. The word 'Seminary' was of varied application and might be taken to apply to Oberlin Hall. Mrs. Sarah Cowles Little, who was born in Oberlin in '38, and who knew three or more charter members, said that the society was organized in Oberlin Hall; the reminiscences of Catherine Snow Taylor, while less explicit, point to the same place.

The first article of the constitution was as follows:

"We, the undersigned members of the Female Department of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute, associate ourselves to be called and known by the name of the Young Ladies' Association of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute for the promotion of literature and religion."

In 1840 this stately appellation was shortened to 'Ladies' Literary Society,' and presently the association came to be known by its initials, L.L.S.

The first officers were the Misses Ingraham, Williams, Capen, and Leonard, filling the positions of president, secretary, treasurer, and critic. The other charter members, as far as we know them, were Catherine Moore, Mary Ann Adams, Frances Cochran, Betsey Branch, and Mary Caroline Rudd. Catherine Snow was a student during 1835 and was perhaps a charter member. If not, she joined soon. Mrs. John Keep, the loved and honored 'Mother Keep' of Oberlin story, was a member by 1841 and so was her future daughter-in-law, Mary Ann Thompson.

The charter members gave a good account of themselves in the subsequent generations. Elizabeth Leonard Morgan was the ancestress of the gifted Morgan family—philosophical, legal, musical. Catherine Moore Barrows was the

THE WOMEN'S LITERARY SOCIETIES

mother of John Henry Barrows, Oberlin's fifth president. Betsey Branch Hudson was the grandmother of "Red" Hudson, who perished with his plane in the World War, one of those thousands of young men of exceptional promise, whom the world needs now. Mary Caroline Rudd Allen was the mother of Rosa Allen, a talented musician, and of Frederic DeForest Allen, a noted philologist. Catherine Snow Taylor has a record of heroic achievement which would be long in the telling and longer in the finding of a parallel. We shall soon learn more of Mary Ann Adams Conkling.

Ladies' Hall was completed in the fall of 1835. Two of its rooms were used by the two literary societies, the young men's lyceum and the women's newly formed society. One of these rooms was in the northeast corner of the second floor, so that it commanded the central point of settlement and afforded a view of a few log cabins and Oberlin Hall. The other room was a long and narrow apartment in the attic, with bare unfinished floor, backless oaken benches, and a lighting system composed of candles. The girls had the attic. We are not told why the weaker sex was assigned the extra two flights of stairs in its own hall, but the arrangement seems to have been amicable. We find that the young men of the college presented the new society with a stove, a gift full of pleasant and companionable suggestions between friends, but a clumsy peace offering if intended to appease righteous wrath. Probably it was not so intended; probably the girls preferred the attic room. The reason may be found in the phrase 'assembly room,' which has reached us in connection with the northeast second-floor

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

corner. The housing problem was still so acute that this choice spot was not assigned to the societies for their exclusive occupation, but only for their use at certain hours. If the young men of the lyceum were amply satisfied with the privilege of holding their meetings at stated hours in the assembly room, and if the present of a stove was simply an expression of esteem on the part of the young men, we may hope it was the forerunner of polite attentions in the matter of transporting fuel.

In 1836 the lyceum passed away, and during the same year the serious congestion in college buildings was further relieved by the completion of Tappan and Colonial Halls. It is not clear whether or when the young women moved down from their aerie, but it is certain that they had a society room which they could control and improve. A red-and-green ingrain carpet, cane-seated chairs, a kerosene lamp, a platform for the speakers, tables for the officials, were among their possessions in the time of the first Ladies' Hall.

After the building of the second Ladies' Hall in 1865, we hear of a first-floor room, a carpet of Brussels weave—then the last word in elegant furnishing for a public room—and carved walnut chairs for the president and secretary. The carpets have long since returned to their dust, the candlesticks disappeared in the kerosene age and the lamp in the gas age, but the carved chairs still remain, though they barely survived the age of iconoclasm. In fact they were actually sold to make way for something more modern and then passed by inheritance into the hands of another owner, but they were finally restored to a repentant L.L.S.

THE WOMEN'S LITERARY SOCIETIES

These items of carpets and chairs are worth noting if we care to go below the surface in our study of the higher education of women. It is significant that the girls of early Oberlin, amid the roughness of frontier life, made a home of their society quarters. It is even more significant that their successive improvements were remembered and passed into tradition, so that we know what they were. I know of no such tradition connected with the young men's society rooms, but the men's societies are all defunct—having given place to other interests after doing splendid service in their day. The Ladies' Literary Society is now ready to enter upon its second century.

ANNIVERSARIES AND GRADUATIONS

The ladies' course, at first not officially recognized, by successive steps became a thing from which a girl could be graduated and be considered a member of the Oberlin alumni. Oddly enough, the first and second of these steps were taken by the Ladies' Literary Society. In 1840, the young women of L.L.S. held a public anniversary at commencement time, though there were indications that this was not the first such affair. Whenever it began, it was an innovation and gave rise to discussion. The more conservative would doubtless urge that this first public appearance of women would be like the letting out of waters—and so indeed it was. Evidently success crowned the occasion or occasions, for in 1841 two open meetings were held by the Ladies' Literary Society, a semiannual meeting on the seventeenth of March and the sixth anniversary of their organization upon August 24. In theory, women

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

were not to appear before a mixed audience and were to utter no word in the churches. In sentiment, early Oberlin was pathetically anxious to preserve the conventions of female modesty, while making certain concessions to the female brain. In fact, we know that the March semiannual meeting was attended by James Fairchild and the two Cochran brothers, and that it was not the first time for young Fairchild—more likely the second or third, since he writes to Mary Kellogg, "The audience was large, larger than I have ever seen before at one of their meetings."

This March open meeting was held in the Chapel, a large room in Colonial Hall, used for daily prayers and also for Sunday preaching services. If we consider New England sentiment at this time, we cannot wonder that the New England faculty of Oberlin College winced a bit—but they played the game.

It was an interesting meeting, and it is interesting to have the details preserved for us through the letter which young Tutor Fairchild wrote to his future wife. The *Oberlin Evangelist* remarks rather ponderously that "the Young Ladies' Literary Society has for its object the mental and moral improvement of its members; and judging from the exhibition last evening it has been an efficient means in promoting both objects."

And now comes the second step taken by L.L.S. toward the official recognition of the ladies' course. The sixth society anniversary was celebrated in August rather than July, in order to bring it into close connection with commencement festivities. This meeting marks an epoch. The previous chapter has explained the status, or non-status, of

THE WOMEN'S LITERARY SOCIETIES

young women completing the ladies' course. One of these quasi graduates was the acting principal, Mary Ann Adams, who had doubtless been hurried into responsible positions by the ill health of the principal, Mrs. Cowles, who resigned in 1840, and whose death occurred in 1843. The coming commencement was to see the bestowal of Bachelor's degrees upon the three women who were the first to complete the classical course. In other words, the three women who had undertaken the standard men's course of their own accord, without the approval of their appointed mentors, were to receive diplomas certifying the bestowal of the traditional degree of Bachelor of Arts; while those who had followed the course laid out and advised for them were to have no recognition whatever. Miss Adams had the audacity of youth and its initiative. She knew that the participants in the anniversary exercises of L.L.S. would belong to the outgoing class of the ladies' course, and she conceived a scheme which would combine the anniversary program with certain ceremonies which suggested graduation. That she knew what she was doing is evident from the recollections of one of the participants, Catherine Snow Taylor, who wrote to the *Jubilee Notes*. "Here our Principal, Miss Adams, came to us to consult, just two weeks before Commencement in '41. Miss Adams said, 'I want you to graduate. Will you do so in this connection?' With what pleasing emotion we all said yes!"

The ladies' board rose to the occasion; four days before the great event the trustees passed the following resolution:

"The Ladies' Board of Managers having made a request relative to giving the young ladies a certificate upon com-

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

pleting their course of study in the Ladies' Department—

"Resolved that a certificate signed and sealed officially be given by the President to such young ladies as sustain an examination in the regular course of studies prescribed for the female department."

The *Oberlin Evangelist* calls the occasion an "anniversary of L.L.S." but says that the young ladies were all members of the first class and had completed the young ladies' course of study, also that they received testimonials to that effect from the president. The function took place in the Chapel before a crowded audience, but the presiding officers were those of the society.

In 1842 a similar ceremony was held in the same place, but its aspect as an evidence of a finished course had eclipsed that of an anniversary of a literary society. The *Evangelist* makes no mention of L.L.S., but remarks that the young ladies who had completed their course of study held their anniversary and received their testimonials. Catherine Snow Taylor remarked in 1883, "The first class of young ladies that ever graduated regularly—by reading an essay and receiving a diploma—did so under the protecting wings of our society." She anticipates part of the process; the young ladies were not yet 'graduated regularly;' officially, they were not graduated at all. They were honorably dismissed from the institution with an official testimonial, but they were not enrolled in the next triennial catalogue of graduates, published in 1842. But it is true that under the 'protecting wings' of L.L.S. they first won official recognition.

In 1843 the graduation of the class from the ladies'

THE WOMEN'S LITERARY SOCIETIES

course became an acknowledged part of the commencement exercises. The Ladies' Board of Managers sat in state on the platform; the Lady Principal presided, but the President opened with prayer and closed with the presentation of testimonials which shortly became diplomas. In the triennial of 1845 the fifty-one women who had then completed the ladies' course were all enrolled as graduates, beginning with Zeruah Porter, '38. In 1848 the trustees took the necessary steps toward procuring an engraved copper plate for the diplomas of the young ladies' department. The material was to be parchment, not paper. Mrs. Dascomb and Professor Hudson were appointed to bring in suggestions about a design. This diploma does not confer any degree, but does certify the completion of an established course of study.

THE NAME CYCLE

The period which we have called the women's decade was a decade in which women were seldom so called. They were 'ladies' by special courtesy to individuals, 'females' in their collective capacity. We have the Georgia Female College, the Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary, the female department of Oberlin Collegiate Institute. In the first Oberlin catalogue the students are males and females. In the second catalogue, while the female department remains, individuals are young ladies or young gentlemen—terms equally open to criticism, but the best that could be done at the time. To call college students men and women would have implied that they were not ladies and gentlemen, and that would never do.

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

In the seventies, old words and old attitudes were everywhere replaced by new. The members of the Ladies' Literary Society scorned their title; not that it was inaccurate to call themselves ladies, and not that it was pretentious—it was worse than either. It was old-fashioned. The modern college women wanted to be rid of it, but they did not wish to change the initials by which the society had been known through most of its history. A feasible compromise was suggested by a graduate member, Mrs. Emily Huntington Miller, who afterwards became dean of women at Northwestern University. A certain Horatian phrase might be so amended as to sing the praises of literature in general instead of lyric verse, and in the process it could acquire the desired initials without the sacrifice of Horatian syntax. If these were adopted as the society's motto, 'L.L.S.' might be understood to signify, not 'Ladies' Literary Society,' but 'Litterae Laborum Solamen.'

Thus it came to pass that 'L.L.S.' became and still remains the official title; but just as the Victorian era was passing, that veteran thief and practical joker, Father Time, stole another prejudice and left another fingerprint. The passion for antiques seized the country. L.L.S. women heard with new interest that they were members of the oldest college women's club, a club so old that its charter members actually styled themselves "ladies." The old title became an heirloom, though still kept on the top shelf, like willow pattern cups. It is quite possible that the L.L.S. women of the future will ordain the resumption of the old title because it is "so different."

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THE WOMEN'S LITERARY SOCIETIES

Extracts from a letter written in March, 1841, by James Harris Fairchild, in Oberlin, Ohio, to Mary Kellogg, Minden, Louisiana.

My far, far, Mary;

. . . Since I read your letter I have spent most of my time in the Chapel at a meeting of the Young Ladies' Literary Society, (Semi-Annual.) It went off very well. The audience was large, larger than I have ever seen before at one of their meetings. . . . Let me give you the order of the exercises, as nearly as I can recollect them. The singing was sweet, performed by four or five ladies, Misses Hosford, Rudd, Day and Allen, and one or two more. . . First exercise was, "A sketch of the life and character of Urania C. White," by Miss F. Messinger. Interesting and instructive. Second performance, "Disadvantages of Locomotion without the Attraction of Gravitation," by Miss Snow. A sort of semi-burlesque on some of the notions of the present age, such as non-resistance and Grahamism. Quite characteristic, rather *queer*. Third, "Prospects of Christ's Kingdom, as connected with the movements of the Nineteenth Century." Not very deep, pretty good, read too fast. Fourth, "A spirit's Descent to Earth," a poem by Miss H. E. Grannis. Of this I can give you no adequate idea. The plan was admirable and the execution happy. . .

The reading of the poem occupied about twenty minutes. Then followed, "Hallowed recollections of a departed sister," by Miss Prall. Mrs. Steele, of course, was the subject of this. It was beautiful and appropriate. On the whole, I feel as if the evening was well spent.

Chapter Four

THE ARRIVAL OF THE COLLEGE WOMAN

WE HAVE SEEN THAT FATHER SHIPHERD's gift to women was not a plan but an opportunity. The women responded quickly with two outstanding proofs of their initiative and ability. In 1835, before the Institute was two years old, they had organized their strong and permanent woman's literary club. In 1837 four young women had completed the preparation for the full college course, and were admitted to the freshman class.

All had been students in Oberlin's preparatory school; otherwise they could not have made ready. Oberlin, like other early colleges of the interior, had a preparatory department—a necessity then and there. Even for boys, secondary schools which made ready for college were few and far between; for girls there were none.

There was no choice of curricula for the individual college student in the 1830's and very little for the college. The colleges of New England required a definite and a very large amount of Latin and Greek, involving some years of preparation in these languages. The colleges of the Reserve had adopted the New England standards, which meant that they must do much of the work of preparing

THE ARRIVAL OF THE COLLEGE WOMAN

boys for college, especially in Greek. Also, here and there was an academy where boys and girls might both be taught Latin, but Greek was the 'manly tongue,' and 'lady's Greek without the accents' was a gibe intended to imply a fundamental deficiency in the female brain. Few girls could get enough Latin for college entrance. No girl normally situated could get the Greek except in Oberlin. For women there was a double barrier before the college entrance door—the colleges were not ready for them, and they were not ready for the colleges.

Nobody was planning a college course for these four girls, and we do not know that they were planning it for themselves. The Oberlin ladies' course offered Greek, not Latin, a circumstance which enabled these girls to prepare for college without question or protest. They could add Latin to their list of studies; it was somewhat unusual for a girl, but not revolutionary. It was the Greek that would have demanded explanation if it had not been already selected as a constituent part of the ladies' course. As it was, the coming freshman women had a chance to prove to themselves and their teachers that they could hold their own in a preparatory class before it was necessary to ask for freshman rank.

From the point of view of both Father Shipherd and President Mahan the selection of Greek as the only foreign language in a woman's curriculum might be unprecedented, but it was safe and sane. A year of elementary Greek, followed by a year of New Testament in the original, would furnish a taste of foreign language and might be of practical value to future teachers and pastors' wives. They

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

were men of the prophetic type, but they did not know that Greek would clear the way for the coming college woman.

Let us glance at the personal history of these four girls.

Mary Hosford, the youngest of the group, was the first to be found upon the records of the new school. Her name appeared in the first catalogue, and she wrote that she entered within the first year. She was then a mere slip of a girl, not quite thirteen. Her father, William Hosford, was one of Oberlin's first colonists. He was prominent among them and was soon made a trustee of the college and a director of the village schools. The family home was on East College Street, near Main. Apparently theirs was a musical family, for Mary had a good singing voice; and in the early forties there was a piano in the Hosford home—a distinguishing possession, though less rare than in most frontier settlements, since George N. Allen was even then laying the foundations of the Conservatory by urging the colonists to invest in musical instruments. The Hosfords came from Thetford, Vermont, where there was a good academy. Mary and her brother Oramel, Mary's senior less than two years, both entered the Oberlin preparatory department. Mary was a child of active intellect, so that it is quite probable that brother and sister were in the same classes at Thetford and again at Oberlin. Mary was not under the home pressure which shortened the school days of many girls of her time. Her father seems to have been prosperous, and he was actively interested in educational matters. Probably respect for education was in the blood, since it traced itself back to a ministerial immigrant of about 1630, the Rev. (or Elder)

THE ARRIVAL OF THE COLLEGE WOMAN

William Hosford. Since the preparatory classes were open to both sexes, it would be the path of least resistance for Mary to enter those allotted to her brother. She might be and probably was well on the way to her college course before she had any consciousness that she was treading a new path. She learned it when the faculty made her admission a matter of consideration and even of a little hesitation. The authorities were facing age-old theories, which they had in part discredited, but which they were not prepared entirely to disavow; while the young girl's light feet tripped over the forbidden threshold without knowing whither it led. As a matter of history, Mary's path led straight to the matrimonial altar, again by a simple and natural sequence of events. She married the Rev. Caleb Fisher. They were classmates. He was religious and musical; she was musical and religious. It is on record that they both "stumbled a little over their orals in mathematics." Never mind! Perhaps they were the better able to help each other solve life's problems.

There were three Marys among the four first freshman women, Mary Hosford, Mary Kellogg, and Caroline Mary Rudd. Mary Fletcher Kellogg entered in the fall of 1835. Her home was in Jamestown, New York, where there was a flourishing academy. In a personal sketch written by President Fairchild and quoted by Professor Swing it is said of her,

"She had begun the study of Latin, and a strong desire had taken possession of her to study Greek. Some circular from Oberlin had reached her father's home and brought her information of the only place

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

in the land where girls were at that time studying Greek. Her father saw no prospect of rest until he harnessed his horse and brought her in his single uncovered wagon the two hundred miles, mostly through the woods, to Oberlin. The journey was by no means remarkable at the time. Many girls came under similar difficulties."

Mary Kellogg did not come to Oberlin to take the ladies' course, but to study Greek. She wanted it because she wanted to read the New Testament in the original, since her thoughts had turned to missionary work. In Oberlin she found that the men who looked forward to religious service were studying Latin as well as Greek. It would be natural to continue her Latin. One of her preparatory years Mary Kellogg spent in nearby Sheffield. The pressure of subfreshman students was then so great that a system of colonization from Oberlin was organized, and this year about eighty were transferred in four groups to Elyria, Austinburg, Sheffield, and Abbeyville. The students entered high school or academy where there was one. Where there was none, a preceptor was appointed. In Sheffield the beautiful old red-brick Burrell homestead is still the home of Burrells, and the family still cherish the tradition of Mary Kellogg. Mary brought her schoolgirl album, and there added to its treasures. One of these, I regret to say, fails to prove the advantages of classical study in Sheffield rather than Jamestown—"domus, domus, dulce domus."

She entered college with her three women classmates and carried the work of the freshman year successfully; but then her parents removed to the far South, taking her

THE ARRIVAL OF THE COLLEGE WOMAN

with them. It was supposed that she would soon return for further study, but the journey back to Oberlin was impossible for a young woman without companionship. Mary Kellogg stayed in Louisiana until November, 1841, when President Fairchild, then tutor but soon to be professor, journeyed to her home and brought her back as Mrs. Fairchild. The long separation was a sore trial to both, but the correspondence of the lovers has preserved for us some of the most delightful glimpses of early Oberlin.

In the catalogue for 1834-5 we find the name of Elizabeth Prall from New York City. She was older than the other three, nineteen when she entered for preparation, twenty-five when she was graduated from college. Her added years and the fact that during her junior year she served as one of four 'superintendents of sections' would suggest a mature and responsible character. It is possible that she came with the definite purpose of getting a college course. She married the Rev. William P. Russell, a classmate of President Fairchild's.

In the catalogue of 1835-6 appears the name of Caroline Mary Rudd, from Huntington, Connecticut, then a girl of fifteen years. We know little of the individual longings that brought such girls by stage coach, canal, and primitive steamboat, weeks away from home and friends, generations away from the amenities of the East. Some had financial reasons, and some were drawn by religious or humanitarian enthusiasm, but for all of these young women it was true that they left behind them no 'instructive privileges' at all to be compared with those they found in the new school.

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

A lady who knew Caroline Rudd as Mrs. George Allen once said in my hearing that she came because she wanted to study Greek. She married the George Allen who was the founder of Oberlin's courses in music. An interesting coincidence, if it be a coincidence and not a matter of chromosomes, is to be found in the fact that a son of Caroline Rudd, Frederic De Forest Allen, '63, after taking his Ph.D. at Leipsic, returned to the ancestral New England to teach Greek and become a distinguished professor of philology at Harvard University. A daughter, Rosa Allen Cochran, was an accomplished musician, the possessor of a beautiful soprano voice. In this family at least the old adage that boys take after their mothers and girls after their fathers was eminently true.

President Fairchild, in his history of Oberlin, a classic for this college, tells the story of the first admission of freshman girls. He was then a senior.

"In 1837 four young women came forward with a full preparation for college, having pursued Latin and Greek in the various classes of the preparatory department, and asked admission to the Freshman Class, as candidates for graduation. Young women had already been reciting with all the college classes, and more or less in all the studies; still, the idea of their taking the full college course, instead of the course designed for them, raised a new question. There was a little hesitation, but the application was granted, and three of the four graduated in 1841—the first young women in this country to receive a degree in the arts. No announcement of this new departure appears in the Catalogue . . . But to guard against

THE ARRIVAL OF THE COLLEGE WOMAN

misapprehension as to the relations of these young women the following remark was introduced and kept standing in the Annual Catalogue until 1855: 'Young ladies in college are required to conform to the general regulations of the Female Department.'

It is plain that this request for instructive privileges to the extent of a full college course was recognized as a new departure. But it was certainly implied in Father Shepherd's first circular, and either because of this implication or because of its inherent justice, the faculty were loyal to his promise. In fact, though the women did not then understand this, their battle had been fought and won two years before, when the principle of equal rights for all in education had been established by the admission of colored students. It would seem that most of the young women were at first true to their conservative instincts and ranged themselves against this startling innovation. This attitude would be highly probable even if we did not have the evidence of a species of straw ballot dated December, 1834, and if President Fairchild had not said that certain damsels declared that they would go home, "if they had to wade Lake Erie," rather than tolerate colored classmates. We have the President's testimony to the courage and self-sacrifice with which these same young women espoused the cause of the colored race after time and argument had convinced them of their error. That same conservative first reaction was in evidence much later, when most women were indifferent to college education for girls and actually hostile to votes for women, but the early avowed opposition of women to 'women's rights' soon disappeared com-

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

pletely. Someone has remarked that the young man in the parable who said, "I will not," but afterward repented and went, should have been a woman, for it is a woman's way.

The attitude of the men, both students and faculty, was fairly generous toward these first college girls, but they were on trial, and they knew it. Mary Hosford writes to Mary Kellogg in the June before her graduation, contrasting the "perplexities and discouragements" of the first two years with the "comfort and pleasure" of the last two. "We have succeeded beyond our own expectations," she says. "I look back to the time when so many who occupied the most influential stations in the school stood out against the course which we were pursuing, and especially the unkind coldness and indifference of her to whom we would look for sympathy and counsel." This is a reference to the excellent Mrs. Alice Welsh Cowles. She was Principal of the Female Department when the first college girls entered. She would not have been a woman, certainly not a New England woman, representative of the best that New England had offered its daughters, carrying the Emerson-Grant-Mary Lyon tradition to the new West for its enlightenment, if her first reaction had not been that the new idea was a piece of schoolgirl flightiness, sure to end in humiliation to themselves and discredit to the institution. But Mrs. Cowles would not have been the sort of woman that the Emerson-Grant-Mary Lyon training produced, if she had not become convinced, as she watched the course of their strange adventure, that the girls were right, and if, having been convinced, she had not wished to say so! "Most of the faculty," continues Mary, "are now in favor of the col-

THE ARRIVAL OF THE COLLEGE WOMAN

lege course, and Mrs. Cowles is advising all those young ladies who have strength and means to take a thorough course." She writes of a time in their senior year, when "Mrs. Cowles met us on the sidewalk, and took us by the hand, and shed over us some of the sweetest tears you ever saw, and instead of discouraging us as she had done formerly, gave us a 'be of good courage' and 'forward.'" This, except the shedding of sweet tears, which isn't done nowadays, sounds rather familiar. Within the past hundred years there have been a few other instances in college history where college girls have found fault with the attitude of their deans, and also other revolts of youth which turned out to have something in them.

Mary Kellogg, writing from her home in far Louisiana, shows that she follows the fortunes of her class with interest. She asks Tutor Fairchild about the Hebrew which they began in the last half of the junior year. She was doubtless gratified by his answer; the women were doing as well as the men, sometimes better. This fact is not of importance now, but it is interesting to note the persistence of the idea that the grand test of capacity for college privileges was linguistic. The atmosphere of men's colleges was charged with the conviction that Greek was a man's sanctum sanctorum, and that women did not learn Greek because they could not. If the Oberlin experiment had seemed to indicate that some of them could, then what about Hebrew? That was the final test. Of course the high school youth who refused to elect Greek because it was 'a girl's study' had not yet been born.

Thus far, the sum of human experience seems to show

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

that it is unsafe to dogmatize upon the inherent capacities of any race or class, or of either sex.

It was Oberlin progressiveness that first opened to women the study of the ancient tongues, but Oberlin conservatism made a long stand for the conventional limits upon their use of their own tongues. When the first college women were in their last half year, the following incident occurred, trivial in itself, but significant. Tutor Fairchild reports it to Mary Kellogg. It happened in the rhetorical exercises which he conducted.

“Miss Prall presented the character of Elizabeth of England, quite a pretty composition, but near the close she took occasion to make a remark or two on “Woman’s Rights.” Speaking of Elizabeth’s visit to Oxford she says, ‘Strange that woman in monarchical England should be permitted to address vice-chancellors and doctors at Oxford University, and in Latin, too, while in liberty-loving America she is not permitted to speak in her own tongue, among the populace, to defend her own rights.’ The matter passed off with a laugh, but a discussion soon followed which involved the woman’s rights question. Messrs. Bancroft, Fisher, Dougherty, and Kedzie, one and all came out so ungallantly against Miss Prall’s sentiments that the poor girl cried sadly. I understood it all as a joke on both until I saw by Miss Prall’s tears that she felt a little serious about it.”

Tutor Fairchild was relieved to observe, at the next meeting of the class, that Miss Prall seemed to be on excellent terms with the four offending youths. He was sure that they had made their peace with her, as manly young fellows

THE ARRIVAL OF THE COLLEGE WOMAN

should. Nevertheless, there are indications that there was grievance behind the Queen Elizabeth composition and that Miss Prall really did feel 'a little serious about it.' If she had known the long struggle that was to follow this small skirmish, she might have felt more than 'a little serious.' It was a struggle for free and articulate speech, to be limited by the powers and the aspirations of the speaker, not by sex. In Oberlin, for all its generosity toward women, this stronghold was contested for more than thirty years and surrendered only inch by inch. L.L.S. had taken the first outpost when its public anniversary meetings were inaugurated in 1840. Mary Adams, lady principal, advanced a step toward the citadel with her program for 1841, which brought the young women who had completed the ladies' course upon the chapel platform to read their essays and receive their testimonials on the evening before commencement day. But what of the three young women who were to receive the Bachelor's degree along with the eight young men who would deliver orations in the Big Tent? It would seem that nobody even thought of orations for the women, unless Miss Prall still had her mind upon Queen Elizabeth at Oxford and Tilbury. Still, the faculty wished to give the women fair recognition, and it was proposed to them that they read essays on the preceding evening with the young women of the ladies' course, and come forward on the following day to receive the degree. The young women concerned did not like this plan, and, as President Fairchild tells us,

"To avoid the impropriety of having the young ladies read from a platform arranged for the speaking

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

of young men, and filled with trustees and professors and distinguished gentlemen visitors, the essays of the lady college graduates were read by the professor of rhetoric, the young women coming upon the platform with their class at the close to receive their diplomas. This arrangement was continued eighteen years, but became less and less satisfactory."

The Commencement of 1841 was duly reported by the *Evangelist*, with the statement that "the essays of the young ladies were read by Prof. Morgan." I cannot think that any one of the young ladies enjoyed the deadly perfection of a professor's rendering, and I suspect that Miss Prall at least would have preferred to brave the trustees and professors and distinguished gentlemen visitors upon the platform.

THE GRADUATION ESSAYS

Tutor Fairchild, teacher of their class in rhetorical exercises, suggested a theme to each one of these three young women. Mary Hosford accepted his suggestion, although her title as reported by the *Evangelist* had been so severely desiccated as to destroy its original vitamins. 'A Lady's Apology' might mean anything or nothing. The topic, as he wrote to Mary Kellogg that he had given it, was 'A Young Lady's Apology for pursuing the Classical Course of Study,' and that we can understand, although Miss Mary would not now announce herself as a 'young lady' and would not offer an 'apology' for an achievement of which she was justly proud. Young Fairchild was a theologian, and he used that word 'apology' in the older and more exact sense—not at all implying that the writer feels peni-

THE ARRIVAL OF THE COLLEGE WOMAN

tence, but that his position has been misunderstood, so that he offers explanation and defense. Expressed in plain English, Mary's theme would be, 'Why I Chose the Classical Course.'

After all these years I still do not know why Mary chose the classical course, and I should like of all things to see her 'apology.' What motive had the power to carry these three girls through years of toil, with no encouragement except what they won by their own success? It is true that the splendors of Hebrew, Greek and Latin literature would have been ample reward—if they got them, but the glorious guerdons of a college course are like other pearls; you must open a great many oysters to find a few, and you may not find any. The pearl fishing was not very good in Oberlin then, probably not in any American college; for in spite of modern materialism literary values are better understood now. In Oberlin, moreover, the 'heathen classics' were subject to special censorship. Instead of the elemental fires of Homer, the majesty of Virgil, the humanism of Horace, the biting wit of Juvenal and Aristophanes, they had double doses of Cicero and Xenophon, along with *Grotius de Veritate* and the Old and New Testaments in the original languages—these last superb literature, but a literature already largely possessed by them through virtue of a matchless translation. We have no evidence that these young women cherished their study of the classics as its own reward, and we have little evidence that most young men of this period did so. Are there other grounds for the 'Lady's Apology'?

In these days many women take a college course because

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

they hope for better opportunities in the professions. If these were the dreams of Mary's group, they took a strange way to realize them; for before they had received these first degrees, every girl in the group, including Mary Kellogg, was engaged, or as good as engaged, to be married! And even had they looked forward to a series of independent years, they had no reason to suppose that a Bachelor's degree would produce a better job. For years to come graduates of Oberlin's ladies' course could have the best positions that were open to women. There were no special plums to be plucked by the hand of a woman who could produce a Bachelor's degree, because from a business point of view the first A.B. women were ahead of the demand. Indeed, when one of these women reached middle age, the sober second thought of that time of life seems to have convinced her that the game had not been worth the candle. A lady who took her degree in 1872 told me that just before she entered as a freshman Mrs. Caroline Rudd Allen said to her that if it were not too late she would try to dissuade her from her choice of the classical course. The graduate of 1872 lived to see the day when the Bachelor's degree was an essential for her work and the Master's degree an important asset. Mrs. Allen, like most pioneers, never saw the vision of "something lost behind the ranges" materialize into tangible form.

Reading between the few lines that have come to us directly from these girls, I think that the impelling motive was the pioneer urge, the urge that has explored the poles and sailed the air, the urge to pass beyond traditional limits and find a home in a larger universe. I think of these few

THE ARRIVAL OF THE COLLEGE WOMAN

young women standing before the closed door, and trying with their slender girlish fingers to undo the lock. They did not know why they struggled, and they could not imagine the eager thousands that should follow them. The door opened; and when such doors open, they will never close again.

OTHER DOORS TO OPEN

The gradual advance of coeducation from dame school to college was not the artificial result of a matured plan, but the natural outcome of things as they were or as they became under a policy of fair play. In Oberlin it began with both girls and boys in the preparatory classes, as they were in certain academies of New England and New York. As soon as Oberlin had college classes in science and philosophy at least one woman entered these. The linguistic studies which formed the backbone of the classical course were opened to women when they were admitted to the courses which led to the Bachelor's degree. But still there were certain reservations.

A definite part of the liberal education of men was their training and practice in public speaking. There were practical reasons for this, since most liberally educated men became either ministers or lawyers. The women of our earlier decades found every approach to public speaking closed to them, because nobody supposed that any woman in her senses would try to become either a minister or a lawyer. The authorities might have urged, and probably did urge, Father Shipherd's qualifying clause, "as shall suit their sex and prospective employment." Accordingly the

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

undergraduate men were trained in debate and oratory, the undergraduate women in essay writing. The Theological Seminary was a men's preserve; there might be a little poaching along its borders, but the product must be only for domestic consumption. Thus Mary Hosford, while teaching and waiting for Caleb Fisher to finish his ministerial training, appears to have enlivened the period with 'such studies as would fit one to be a pastor's wife.'

The end was not yet. While Mary and her classmates were preparing their essays to be read by Professor Morgan, a young woman in Massachusetts was saving her money, bit by bit, for a college course. She wanted it because her 'prospective employment' was public speaking. To this she felt called, not because it 'suited her sex,' but because her sex needed a woman to plead their cause. And in the state of New York another girl was busy with her preliminary studies—a girl who would presently demand 'such studies as would fit one to' become not a pastor's wife, but a pastor!

* * * * *

THE COURSE OF STUDY IN OBERLIN COLLEGE IN THE YEAR 1837-38

The Freshman Year of the First Women to take a full College Course

PREPARATORY DEPARTMENT

Brown's English Grammar; Woodbridge's Larger Geography, ancient and modern; Colburn's and Adam's Arithmetic; Andrews' and Stoddard's Latin Grammar; Latin

THE ARRIVAL OF THE COLLEGE WOMAN

Reader, first and second parts; Cicero's ten Select Orations; Goodrich's Greek Grammar and Lessons; the four Gospels [in original]; Jacob's Greek Reader, the poetry excepted; Grimshaw's Goldsmith's Histories of Rome, Greece and England; Webster's United States; Nevin's Biblical Antiquities; Hopkins' Christians Instructor; Porter's Rhetorical Reader.

Compositions, discussions and declamations weekly.

COLLEGIATE DEPARTMENT

Freshman Year. Day's Algebra; Davies' Legendre's Geometry and Trigonometry begun; Cicero de Amicitia and de Senectate [sic]; Grotius de Veritate; Cicero Tusculan Questions; Xenophon's Cyropedia, four books; Acts of the Apostles [original Greek]; Anatomy and Physiology; Tytler's Universal History begun; Cowper's Poems; Town's Analysis.

English Bible, one lesson a week.

Sophomore Year. Davies' Geometry and Trigonometry finished; Bridge's Conic Sections; Cicero de Officiis; Buchanan's Psalms, [a Latin edition]; Tacitus, the Germania and Agricola; Xenophon's Memorabilia, entire; Eschines and Demosthenes on the Crown, begun; Whately's Logic and Rhetoric; Paley's Evidences; Tytler's Universal History finished; Cowper's Poems continued; Botany with Lectures.

English Bible, weekly.

Junior Year. Olmsted's Natural Philosophy; Herschel's

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

Astronomy; Chemistry; Anatomy and Physiology, resumed and extended; Eschines and Demosthenes finished; Plato's Phædo; Bush's Hebrew Grammar and Chrestomathy; Milton's Poems; Lectures on Law; Political Economy; Leslie on Deism; Stewart's Elements of Intellectual Philosophy; Cousin's Psychology.

English Bible, or Jahn's Archeology, one lesson weekly.

Senior Year. Hebrew Bible; Greek Testament, epistles; the Antigone of Sophocles and the Prometheus Vinctus of Aeschylus; Lowth on Hebrew Poetry; Lectures on Law; Butler's Analogy; Kames' Elements of Criticism; Intellectual Philosophy with Lectures; Wayland's Moral Philosophy with Lectures. English Bible, weekly.

Compositions and either extempore discussions or declamations weekly throughout the course. For the last two years, the Students will declaim their own Compositions.

Particular attention will be paid to the cultivation of Sacred Music.

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COMMENCEMENT AT OBERLIN

From the Oberlin Evangelist

Oberlin, September 1, 1841

The Work of Righteousness Shall Be Peace—Is. 32:17

The Commencement exercises of this institution were held last week, in the presence of the largest congregation ever assembled here on similar occasions.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE COLLEGE WOMAN

On Tuesday evening, August 24, the Anniversary of the Young Ladies' Literary Society was held. The pieces were read by the young ladies, and listened to with the deepest interest, by as large a congregation as could find a place in the chapel. The ladies were all members of the first class, and have completed the ladies' course of study. The following is the order of their exercises.

1. The Importance of Cultivating a Literary Taste—Miss L. Clemens
2. Man's True Element—Miss A. F. Hall
3. No Royal Road to Excellence—Miss D. Fenn
4. The Day Star—Miss E. Cambell
5. Contracting [sic] Spectacles—Miss C. Snow.
6. The Influence of the Religion of a Nation in forming Character—Miss J. Raymond

These six young ladies, together with Miss Julia Reed, who was excused from reading on account of ill health, after a brief address from the President, received testimonials that they had satisfactorily completed the Ladies' Course of Study, and were dismissed from the Institution.

At nine o'clock on Wednesday morning, Mr. William Cochran delivered an Address to the Society of Alumni. Subject, "The Simplicity of Moral Actions." It was a production of the highest order—its plan good—and its argument conclusive. We understand it is to be published.

The remainder of the day was occupied by Senior College Class, in the following order:

1. The Obligations of Society to Scientific Research—Seth T. Wolcott, Franklin, N. Y.

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

2. Reason—William B. Hall, Oberlin.
3. A Lady's Apology; an essay—Miss Mary Hosford, Oberlin.
4. The Existence of God, a Demand of Human Nature—Cyrus H. Baldwin, Salubria, N. Y.
5. Man a Chameleon—Jas. S. Smedley, North East, Pa.
6. Chain of Existences; an essay—Miss Elizabeth S. Prall, New York City.
7. Connection of Liberty with Civilization—John H. Kedzie, Yellow Springs.
8. True Heroism; an essay—Miss Caroline M. Rudd, Huntington, Ct.
9. Political Economy of Slavery—John Todd, West Hanover, Pa.
10. The Moral Law Adapted to its Subjects—Caleb E. Fisher, Warsaw, N. Y.
11. Perfect Adaptedness of Virtue to the Human Constitution—Alex. N. Dougherty, Jr. Newark, N. J.

The large tent was full throughout the entire day; and the interest manifested was very great, and sometimes intense. This interest continued to the very last, and it was the interest of a highly intelligent audience, in pure thought, well expressed. There was no semblance of buffonery [sic]—none of the trappings of the stage, in imitation of theatres—nor any thing worse, such as are sometimes introduced on such occasions. Probably no greater interest could be excited than was felt in the address on "The Political Economy of Slavery," and the thrilling music that followed. An old and trembling Revolutionary Soldier was so much

THE ARRIVAL OF THE COLLEGE WOMAN

interested that he arose and asked leave to address the congregation, and was only prevented by the want of time. It was a good impression throughout.

The first degree in the Arts was conferred upon nine young men, namely: Cyrus H. Baldwin, George W. Bancroft, Alexander N. Dougherty, Jr., Caleb E. Fisher, William B. Hall, John H. Kedzie, James S. Smedley, John Todd, Seth T. Wolcott. Also on three young ladies, Miss Mary Hosford, Miss Elizabeth S. Prall, and Miss Caroline M. Rudd. The essays of the young ladies were read by Prof. Morgan.

* * * * *

Extracts from a letter written by Mary Hosford in Oberlin, Ohio, to Mary Kellogg in Minden, Louisiana

Oberlin, June 24, '41

My dear Mary,

For so I used to call you when I took your arm to go to the recitation room. . .

But I flatter myself that you will like to know something of our progress and success, since you left our little band. The trials, perplexities, and discouragements with which we met in our first year, you are quite too well acquainted with. The sophomore year was hardly less difficult. We seemed destined to days and nights even of toil and fatigue. But these last two years have been fraught with comfort and pleasure, and we have succeeded beyond our own expectations. Often do I look back to the time when so

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

many, who occupied the most influential stations in the school, stood out against the course we were pursuing, and especially the unkind coldness and indifference of her to whom we would look for sympathy and counsel, and contrast with our situation, with our incentives to take the course which seemed best to us, the situation and incentives to action which are laid upon those who are behind us. Most of the faculty are now in favor of the college course, and Mrs. Cowles is advising all those young ladies who have strength and means to take a thorough course! Sometimes I feel like weeping tears of joy over those dear young ladies who are now making their way through the same path that we have trod, peaceful and unmolested. After the catalogue was issued last fall, Mrs. Cowles met us on the side-walk, and took us by the hand, and shed over us some of the sweetest tears you ever saw, and instead of discouraging us as she had done formerly, gave us a "be of good courage" and "onward". My dear Mary—we hope that you will be with us again. I wonder sometimes if it is possible that you and Mary Rudd will be so privileged as to have a home on this endeared spot.—James is our teacher in Hebrew, and—Mary, I would tell you just what I think of him, were it not that when I praise him I praise you too.

I take it for granted that you know more of my history than I have detailed in these few lines,—The intimacy which existed between Mr. Fairchild and Mr. Fisher during the winter *may* have been the means of your knowing the relations in which I stand to him.—Mary, I hate to tell of any such thing when I think what a *girl* I have been and

THE ARRIVAL OF THE COLLEGE WOMAN

what a *girl* I am now. I know I might have more of the *woman*, but since I am a girl I cannot put away girlish things.—What a life I have spent! Twenty years, to so little profit to myself or to anyone else!—How important that in such an eventful era as this in which we live, we should be up and doing all that is in our power to forward the glorious work of man's redemption. Now dear Mary, believe me when I tell you how much, how very much, I want to hear from you. The girls would send love.

Yours, ever,

M. Hosford.

Chapter Five

NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

AS WE TRACE THE PROGRESS of the education of women at Oberlin College, we cannot fail to note the signs of changing views and clashing convictions. In other words, the idea of Father Shipherd was young, vigorous, and bound to grow. We must look for change in everything that has a vital principle.

Before we raise the voice of reproach against the men, or the faculty, or the ladies' board of old Oberlin, we should remember that this was not a contest between men and women, or between students and faculty, or between the ladies' board and its victims. It was a contest of ideas and ideals, in which the majority of the students, men and women, agreed with the conservative majority of the faculty and with the ladies' board. Also, we may well keep in mind the fact that it involved problems whose solution is not yet clear.

The early differences centered about public speaking by women, and this the contestants took so seriously that we now find it hard to take them seriously. We can see nothing that ought to make an issue. Women, we know, need training in voice, language, the marshalling of ideas, in

NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

order that mothers may do their best for their children, teachers for their classes, club and church members for their organizations. Further than this we find that few women care to go, but we have practically agreed that if they wish and can, they may and should. But the women who led the first fight for public speech had not the faintest intention of giving parlor talks on parlor topics. They meant to join the fight for temperance, abolition, women's rights—in short, the war against vested interests, of all foes the most merciless. In the middle decades of the nineteenth century public speech was not an accomplishment, not merely a tool. It was a weapon. With a few shining exceptions the best men, the most chivalrous, tender, and reverential in their attitude toward womanhood did not consider it a fit weapon for a woman's hand.

Public speech was outside a mystic geometrical entity called 'woman's sphere.' The religious called it unscriptural for a woman, the cultured thought it unseemly, the cynical found in it material for their bitterest sneers, the evil-minded felt free to make a woman orator the target of vulgarity. The friends of the real progress which Oberlin had made possible for women knew of course that Oberlin women could not entirely escape reactionary criticism, but they were naturally desirous that Oberlin women should not deserve it. They did not want the alumnae of this college to be, or even to be called, unwomanly. The authorities had admitted women to most of their instructive privileges; they had recognized and provided for women's special need of comfort and protection; they had broken the sacred circle that enshrined degrees in the arts; but

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

they drew hard and fast lines at public speech. If they had encouraged it, there would have been no vestige of toleration in the East for the new college in Ohio. In 1837 an association of Congregational ministers in Massachusetts issued a 'pastoral letter' to the churches, in which it deplored "the mistaken conduct of those who encourage females to bear an obtrusive and ostentatious part in measures of reform, and countenance any of that sex who so far forget themselves as to itinerate in the character of public lecturers or teachers." In the early forties a correspondent of the *Boston Recorder*, under *Notes of a Traveller*, discloses the fact that he has indeed wandered far from the parent Hub, for his peregrinations have brought him to Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary. He makes haste to recant all he has spoken in derogation—he had imagined it "a sort of New England female Oberlin, with rude buildings, and untasteful arrangements, and a studious avoidance of all that makes woman lovely, so far as they can be separated from what makes her respectable, and in some respects, useful." He is delighted with all he has seen and heard and tasted, "with one slight exception." This he mentions with some hesitation, but, "I think, however, it is an evil, slight in itself, but leading to others, and endangering that beautiful seclusion in which female loveliness should live and move. Twelve young ladies, without parents, rising in a crowded church to receive a broad diploma with its collegiate seal presented to my view the least attractive spectacle of a most interesting day."

It should be noted that the young ladies had not uttered a word in the sacred edifice; the compositions had been read

NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

in Seminary Hall at an earlier stage of the exercises; the 'evil' was that of rising in church to receive their diplomas. During the next quarter century much water went under the bridges, but not enough to wash away all the old sediments and sentiments. Just before Vassar opened, in 1865, its prospectus announced that the methods of social training would be womanly, and therefore, "no encouragement would be given to oratory and debate. . . Debating societies" were said to be "utterly incongruous and out of taste."

Such instances might be multiplied, but these will indicate the problems of men and women from the East, loyal to its standards, but guiding the affairs of a college in the woods and loyal also to the promise of its founder, to bring "all instructive privileges . . . within the reach of the misjudged and neglected sex."

THE COMING OF LUCY STONE

Mary Hosford, as we have seen, entered the Oberlin preparatory school in May, 1834, a girl of thirteen. That year, and about the same time of the year, a New England girl, sixteen years old, began to teach her first school at a salary of one dollar a week and 'board around.' Her name was Lucy Stone. Mary, daughter of a pioneer on the ragged edge of civilization, found the path to the higher education accessible, though not too smooth and easy. Lucy, a Massachusetts girl in the heart of New England, found no path at all. Her father had barely tolerated her attendance at the district school and was unwilling to buy school books for her, although he supplied her brothers with what they needed. As a child she was

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

made to feel that she was 'only a girl.' When she grew older, she realized that her mother, although she toiled day and night for her nine children and their father, must claim no rights and have no will of her own. The sturdy soul in the small body rebelled. The patient mother thought to still the futile tempest by explaining to her little daughter that all women were under the curse of Eve, and that they must submit. Lucy could not believe that God had cursed all women, although the Bible seemed to say so, and nobody in her little world had ever breathed a question about the literal truth of every line in the Sacred Book. The child's logical mind found but one tolerable refuge—the translation of these terrible texts might be wrong! She would know for herself; she would go to college, study Greek and Hebrew, and find out exactly what the Bible said. She knew about colleges, for her elder brothers had made ready for Amherst, and had entered, with the sanction and assistance of their father. But when Lucy said that she too wanted to go to college, it was probably not in irony, but in real bewilderment and alarm, that her father asked her mother, "Is the child crazy?"

Lucy was an outstanding success at the teacher's desk. She was not considered a pretty girl by the standards of the times, but with her lovely rosy color, her abundant dark hair, the abounding vitality which went with a gentle, winning manner, it is not strange that she proved to be an uncommonly attractive one. Her voice was of exceptional carrying power, and yet so sweet that its charm became a tradition. In time she attained the princely salary of sixteen dollars a month, and was found to be able to manage

NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

the winter schools, to which the big boys came, husky from their summer's work on the farms. These winter schools were supposed to be beyond the mental and physical powers of a woman, so that the woman teacher must not expect employment the year around. Once, when the big boys had turned out the master, throwing him head first into a snow drift, the trustees in desperation asked Lucy to take his place. She had entire success. At another time, her brother was obliged to give up his school because of illness, and the trustees knew of no one but Lucy who could do the work. They cut the salary, however, from thirty dollars to sixteen. That was enough for a woman, they said.

After nine years of such teaching, interspersed with such opportunities for study as she could get, and with housework to relieve her mother, Lucy had saved enough to enable her to begin her college course and had mastered enough of book learning to admit her to a freshman class. That was in 1843, and she was twenty-five years old. As her daughter remarks, "There was no difficulty as to the choice of a college. There was only one that admitted women." Lucy came to Oberlin. She had so little money that she dared not pay for a stateroom on the steamer which took her from Buffalo to Cleveland, but slept on the deck.

In Oberlin she found a college still of the frontier, but with the experiences of ten years of strenuous life. Its first amorphous period had been passed, and its most pressing problems were solved for the time being. John Shipherd, always a pioneer, ever heeding the call to new adventure, was at the close of his work for Oberlin; his

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

general plan had met with amazing success, but some of the details had been found to be unwise, so that he was not followed as an infallible guide. We need not be surprised to find a less aggressive attitude in the forties than in the thirties, though it would not be true to say that Oberlin experienced a conservative reaction. In sentiment and tradition Oberlin was conservative from the first, and is to this day. Its many new departures have never been upheavals or changes for the sake of something new. They have sprung from the efforts of earnest men to be loyal to the right as they saw it, and they represented their view of individual problems, not their theory of life as a whole. Such solutions are more partial and inconsistent, but less subject to wholesale reversal. In the case of Oberlin there was no reaction from the earliest decisions. In spite of jeers and actual abuse, it continued to offer its educational advantages to the unprivileged classes, women and negroes. It protected fugitives from slavery. It developed and championed a new school theology. In short its leaders occupied and fortified the ground they had taken, but they did not wish to lead in further advances until others should reach their position. An example of this attitude may be found in the fact that while we know that two of Oberlin's early leaders, Tappan and Keep, had formed their opinions about slavery under the direct influence of Garrison, and while the same is probably true of Mahan and Shipherd, nevertheless Oberlin was not Garrisonian. It stood firm for abolition, but Garrison's *Liberator* and his 'Come Outer' plan did not appeal to the Oberlin of the forties.

NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

We may trace a similar spirit in their treatment of the woman question; what had been promised they gave, but they were not eager to go farther.

Into this atmosphere, with its queer mixture of liberality and conservatism, came Lucy Stone, with "a soul," as Garrison said of her, "as free as air." Her settled purpose, even then fully formed and later fully realized, was mightily to influence her generation through oratory. It speaks volumes for that brave and fearless young woman that she never lowered her colors throughout her college course. It is a testimony to the fair and generous spirit of old Oberlin that her convictions and purposes were not made an obstacle to her employment as a teacher in the preparatory department. It is a tribute both to the woman and to her college that each cherished a lasting affection for the other.

A school for the ignorant fugitives from slavery had been established in the village of Oberlin, and here she was given an opportunity both to earn a little money and help a needy race. But the dusky aspirants for knowledge objected. It was beneath their dignity, they thought, to be taught by a woman. Lucy persuaded them that it would be better to learn to read through a woman's teaching than not to learn at all. Very soon their love and respect for her had no bounds. One signal proof of this involved Lucy with the high authorities.

The tenth anniversary of emancipation in the West Indies came during Lucy Stone's sophomore year. The colored people of Oberlin arranged a celebration and made provision for several addresses. We may be sure that when

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

their teacher had given them informal talks they had been interested and influenced, for Lucy Stone always captured her audience. They were so ignorant they knew nothing of the great gulf fixed between Lucy Stone, their honored teacher, who might talk to them as often as she would, and Lucy Stone, the public speaker, who had no right to exist. Accordingly they asked certain professors to address them—and also Miss Lucy Stone! Lucy made her speech, which was doubtless a good one; and the next day she was summoned before the Ladies' Board of Managers.

At this time the board consisted of Mrs. Shipherd, Mrs. Mahan, Mrs. Finney, Mrs. Dascomb, and Mrs. Whipple. The presiding officer was the lady principal, Miss Mary Ann Adams.

Oberlin ought to have a picture of that meeting. There sit the prim ladies, with their well-bred faces and their toil-worn hands, in their gowns of eastern origin, religiously preserved and made over; with their New England standards of conduct, as religiously preserved but not at all made over. Facing them stands the dark haired, strong featured young woman, neat in her calico frock and spotless white collar, calm in the strength of her idea—an idea neither preserved from old times nor made over to suit the present fashion.

The ladies quoted the standard passages from Scripture. By this time Lucy knew a little Greek and probably had discovered how very much more she must know before she could attempt revolutionary exegesis. It did not matter now. The enlarging experiences of life had emancipated her from the tyranny of texts without disturbing her profound religious faith; the passages which had agonized the

NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

child could not reach the steadfast soul of the woman. The president's wife said,

"Did you not feel yourself very much out of place up there on the platform among all those men? Were you not embarrassed and frightened?"

She answered, "Why, no, Mrs. Mahan! 'Those men' were President Mahan and my professors, whom I meet every day in the class room. I was not afraid of them a bit!"

Assuredly she was not afraid of them! It would have taken more than the kind hearted faculty and ladies' board of Oberlin to terrify Lucy Stone. In fact, it took more than her stormy times had to offer of cold disfavor, boorish insult, actual violence. All these she was to meet, and yet her daughter could say of her that she was one of the few persons absolutely without the emotion of fear. Gentle and conciliatory in manner, she did not know what it meant to be afraid of anything.

ANTOINETTE BROWN

While these things were happening, Antoinette Brown was studying and teaching, making ready to enter Oberlin. She was but twenty when she entered an advanced class of the ladies' course. Her experience was most unlike that of Lucy Stone. Seven years younger, born in the state of New York but far to the west of the Hudson River, and reared in a liberal community, she never knew the stern repression from which Lucy had to make her escape. She had early and deep religious experiences, and often spoke or prayed in the church meetings. Thus she discovered

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

her own unusual gift for religious leadership. This would have been impossible in Lucy Stone's community.

The thought of becoming a minister became a choice and a purpose. She came to Oberlin to fit herself for the pulpit.

In the stage which carried her from Cleveland to Oberlin she found a fellow passenger, who was a trustee of Oberlin. With the best of intentions he offered a timely warning regarding a certain student by the name of Lucy Stone. It is reported that he said, "She is a bright student, and there is nothing against her character, but she is a young woman of strange and dangerous opinions. She is a Garrisonian and she is planning to become a public speaker, and she is always talking about woman's rights. You had better not have much to do with her."

"Of course," remarked Antoinette in her reminiscences, "she became the one person whose acquaintance I most desired to make. When we assembled in the Boarding Hall, I diffidently surveyed my new environment. There were long tables at which the men were seated along one side and the women along the other. The first question I addressed to my neighbor was, 'Which is Lucy Stone?' By leaning forward and looking down the line of tables, I could see a small, fresh, round-faced girl in a neat calico frock, her hair cut round at the neck and hanging just above the smoothest, whitest, turned-down collar—which, by the way, she always washed and ironed herself.

"Among the cheerful, quiet babel which rose about us, I could catch the sweet, clear-cut tones of Lucy's voice. A discussion was going on at that table. She talked a great

NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

deal, and I could feel sure, without hearing what she said, that she was speaking with much earnestness and with very positive convictions. As she was seated near the Superintendent of the hall, a college graduate and a clergyman, I promptly decided that she talked altogether too much, and with an unfitting absoluteness of conviction and of authority, for any young girl. She appeared to be about sixteen. Afterwards, when I learned that she was nearly twenty-seven and had been a teacher for years, I recognized that her speech and manner were appropriate for the more mature age."

The two made a problem for the college authorities. Indeed we might spare some sympathy for the men and women whose generosity had already gone far beyond the support of public opinion and had reached the limit even of their own convictions.

Lucy and Antoinette were good and lovable young women, of brilliant intellect, mature in their outlook upon life, free from vulgar defiance. It was impossible to treat them as common rebels. When Lucy Stone scandalized the college and community by appearing in church without her bonnet, she was as impervious to criticism as the modern young woman who appears on the tennis court in shorts; but her line of defense was utterly different. "Wearing my bonnet gives me a headache for the rest of the day," she told the ladies' board in her gentle tones. "If I do this, what account shall I give to my Maker for my wasted Sabbath afternoon?" And the ladies, who had been trained to extreme care about accounts with their Maker and about Sabbath afternoons, could not take the responsibility of

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

Lucy's Sunday headaches. They compromised. If Lucy would sit well in the rear under the gallery, she might remove her bonnet when she found it necessary. Long after these events, Mrs. Antoinette Brown Blackwell confessed that she and her friend rather welcomed a summons before the board.

The thrill of passing the ordeal, unscathed and without surrender, probably made such occasions more agreeable to them than to their elders and betters. Nevertheless, neither Lucy Stone or Antoinette Brown can be considered harum-scarum schoolgirls. They had both entered Oberlin College to fit themselves to address audiences and to influence large affairs. Both ladies' board and faculty resolved that if these girls ever brought discredit upon themselves they would not do so because of any lack of firmness in their Oberlin training.

THE MAKING OF AN ORATOR

In 1852 Professor James Fairchild addressed the Ohio State Teachers' Association upon 'The Joint Education of the Sexes.' In 1867, soon after his appointment to the presidency, he gave a similar address before a gathering of college presidents. This utterance, conservative, yet tolerant, well represents Oberlin's position. He reviews Oberlin's experience of coeducation in its academic and social aspects and pronounces it wholly favorable. He continues, "You would know whether the result with us has been a large accession to the numbers of coarse, 'strong-minded' women, in the offensive sense of the word; and I say, without hesitation, that I do not know of a single

NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

instance of such a product as the result of our system of education. It is true that in our 'Triennial' are found the names of three somewhat distinguished lady lecturers, who are sometimes referred to as belonging to this class. They pursued their studies at Oberlin from four to five years in each case. But, whatever their present position and character may be, I have personal knowledge of the fact that they came to us very mature in thought, with their views of life settled, and their own plans and purposes determined and announced. Whatever help in their chosen life they derived from the advantages afforded them, they have never given us any credit for their more advanced views of women's rights and duties. While avowing radical dissent from those views, I can not forbear to say that I am happy to number these ladies among my friends, and to express my admiration of much that is noble and womanly in their character, and of their noble but mistaken philanthropy."

Two of President Fairchild's 'somewhat distinguished lady lecturers' are undoubtedly Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown Blackwell. The third is more difficult to determine for the reason that at least five other women who were graduated before 1867 became successful public speakers, which goes to show that the disapproval of college authorities did not always prohibit in those old days of flaming youth. The five will be introduced in the following chapter. There is one, and only one, who exactly fits the president's allusion; but she must wait for her introduction, since we are not yet done with the undergraduate experiences of the two who were certainly in his thought.

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

Lucy once took the negative of the question, 'Is it the duty of Christian women to labor in foreign fields when there are millions of heathen in our own country?' This must have been a written discussion and not a free debate, but we wonder what Lucy did in the heat of argument. Did she follow her text always, or did her facile thought and speech sometimes leap unbidden into the thick of the fight?

It is clear that the reading of written discussions did not satisfy either Lucy or Antoinette. The young men of their class had debating exercises as a part of their training in the use of the English language and in public speaking. Our two young women asked to be allowed to hold a debate, and Professor Thome consented. Tradition says that the debate between these girls was exceptionally brilliant, but this first debate under college sanction was their last. The ladies' board objected and the faculty overruled Professor Thome.

Then Lucy organized a debating society. Antoinette was, of course, a member, and a few like-minded young women. The girls held their first meetings in the woods, and when the weather grew cold they adjourned to the little parlor of an old colored woman. They were too considerate to add to the burdens of the ladies' board by reporting the existence of a women's debating club. In fact they posted sentinels and were careful not to go to the place in groups lest they attract attention. At the first meeting, Lucy thus set forth their reason for existence. "We shall leave this college with the reputation of a thorough collegiate course, yet not one of us has received any rhetori-

NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

cal or elocutionary training. Not one of us could state a question or argue it in successful debate. For this reason I have proposed the formation of this association."

Graduation day drew near; both were to take diplomas. Lucy's was a certificate of the Bachelor's degree, Antoinette's a testimonial of her completion of the ladies' course. Odd, and even absurd as it may seem to us, the faculty and ladies' board still felt that the procedure laid down for the first women graduates was the right one. Antoinette might read her essay, but Lucy might not.

Lucy waived the point of essays instead of orations, but she declared that if she might not read she would not write. She was elected by her classmates to a place on the program of commencement day. An assignment for this important function would have been of practical value to the intending publicist, but she kept her word.

With this last silent protest, Lucy Stone passed from her college world into her lifelong struggle with tradition, misconception, unreason—and to her glorious success. She did not live to see the passage of the nineteenth amendment; but she did see a revolution in public sentiment, much revision of state laws concerning women, partial suffrage in many states. She knew that the rest would come.

THE MAKING OF A MINISTER

Antoinette's battle ground lay in Oberlin. We may fancy the dismay and bewilderment of the faculty and ladies' board when they learned that she and a classmate, Lettice Smith, purposed to enter the theological department. It has been claimed that they were admitted only because

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

Oberlin's charter required it, while elsewhere it has been suggested that the authority of Oberlin under its charter to graduate any woman was in question. Both mistakes would have been avoided if the perpetrators had taken the trouble to read the charter. This document neither requires nor forbids any of the many good gifts which women have received from this college. The successors of Father Shipherd understood that the promise of 'instructive privileges' included instruction in theological studies, if any woman so desired. They did not understand that Shipherd had promised an open door to men's occupations—least of all the ministry.

It was decided that these misguided young women should have the instruction for which they asked, but that they should not have recommendations for the pulpit, either in the shape of licenses for preaching, or of formal enrollment in the theological course. From the faculty's point of view, this was a fair and liberal solution of a troublesome question. The solution has needed a deal of explaining ever since.

"Antoinette," said kindhearted Professor Morgan, "I would keep you out if I could. But since I cannot, I will do my best to teach you." He did not mean that Oberlin must admit women to the theological course or lose her charter. He had read the charter. He meant that Miss Brown was foolishly demanding a strictly technical training for a profession which she could never enter. He deemed her plan a serious mistake, which he would like to prevent if he could. Since he could not do this and be loyal to Father Shipherd's promise, she should have the

NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

best he could give her, as if she were a man, although she should not have asked it, because she was a woman.

There were then no such occupations for women as pastor's assistant, Y. W. secretary, or professor of Biblical literature. If Antoinette Brown wanted the theological training, it meant that she would soon be wanting to preach.

The two young women were not catalogued as members of the theological department but as 'resident graduates pursuing the theological course.' They continued the pursuit through the three years assigned and I feel sure that they came as near to mastering the subject as any of their fellow students. Nevertheless, until 1889 the catalogues of graduates know these two only as members of the class of 1847. Then and thereafter they were also enrolled as members of the theological class of 1850.

After less than two months of graduate study, Miss Lettice Smith had become Mrs. Thomas Holmes, and as such ceased to be a problem. Her husband would do the preaching, not she. But Antoinette Brown was of no mind to preach by proxy. She wanted the license regularly given to seminary graduates, and for this the authorities refused to sanction the initial steps. She must speak or be silent, they told her, on her own responsibility.

On her own responsibility, therefore, the gallant young woman spoke and wrote and preached as she had opportunity. Theodore Parker and Thomas Wentworth Higginson heard her. They declared that Miss Brown had proved that she had the right to preach, because she had the power. Horace Greeley and Charles H. Dana urged her to settle in New York and preach from a hired hall,

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

promising a salary and hall-rent if she would consent. With her unfailing good taste and good sense she declined this offer, saying that she preferred a small church in the country. In 1853 she was formally ordained over the church at South Butler, New York—the first woman in America to be ordained to the Christian ministry.

It is pleasant to add that each of these brave women lived to receive from her college an honor which was also an acknowledgment of an old injustice. At Oberlin's Semi-centennial in 1883, Lucy Stone was invited to deliver an address—one of a group of eminent speakers upon a great occasion. In 1908, when Mrs. Antoinette Brown Blackwell was eighty-three, the college conferred upon her the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

It is also pleasant to add that in spite of the clash of warring opinions, there was no bitterness on either side. No awkward reconciliation was needed before signal honors could be offered and received, for the college had always been friendly and these large-souled and generous women had always been loyal. Oberlin came around to the views of her unsubmissive children exactly as did Lucy's own father, when he watched with growing pride the achievements of 'our Lucy,' and finally confessed, "You were right, Lucy, and I was wrong!"

THE LAST STAND OF THE OLD GUARD

Both Lucy's father and her college required many years to reach her position. In Oberlin, the conservatives on the faculty held fast to their two points. There was to be nothing approaching oratory or debate on the part of

NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

any young woman at any public occasion, and, although the young women of the ladies' course might read their own essays at their separate exercises, no young woman was to appear upon the platform at the Commencement of the classical course, except to receive her degree.

The passing years saw a material strengthening of the ladies' course. Its content was bettered. Its graduates were encouraged to feel themselves full members of the Oberlin alumni group. The authorities advised young women to choose this course instead of the classical, and most did so. During the fifties less than ten per cent of the women graduates were from the classical course, as against twenty-eight per cent in the forties, and sixteen per cent in the sixties. But there was an unforeseen effect of the increase in the value and dignity of the course. When the women's day became an integral part of commencement, and more and more trustees and distinguished guests found their way to the exercises of the ladies' course, it became more and more difficult to defend the time-honored usage concerning the reading of graduating essays. Why should the graduate of the ladies' course, who had chosen the path of least resistance, be allowed to read her own graduation essay, while the woman who had earned the Bachelor's degree was obliged to listen to hers, faultlessly rendered by a professor of rhetoric and belles lettres, with its youthful crudities infinitely enhanced thereby?

In 1857, Mary Raley, the only woman candidate for the Bachelor's degree in the following year, entered a definite protest against the established custom. It had more effect

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

because Miss Raley was a Quaker girl, with the quiet un-aggressive manner that belongs to those of that persuasion. The faculty reconsidered. Dr. Dascomb urged revision, but there was long and continued objection. Mary Raley received her degree in 1858, but her essay was read by Professor Monroe; the faculty had not yet reached a decision.

In 1859 it was at last agreed that the young ladies of the classical course might read their own essays from the commencement platform. The faculty saved its face by having the essays read first at a distinctly subordinate occasion, the 'monthly rhetoricals,' where the appearance of young ladies was no novelty. After this, which might be termed a preliminary hearing, the Misses Allen, Cowles, Prentiss, Safford, and Whitney were allowed to appear before a mixed public audience.

I am glad to add that we find no evidence that girls ceased to be girls while they were carrying on this elemental contest. We know what Sarah Cowles wore when she read that historic essay, just as we know how charter members of L.L.S. furnished their society rooms. The gown of Miss Cowles was made of fine French print. With due regard for the age-old proprieties, she appeared in a bonnet; but a touch of freedom was evidenced by the fact that she did *not* wear a shawl! From what we know of Sarah Cowles Little we cannot doubt that her essay was worth hearing.

The faculty had by no means made an unconditional surrender. In the future women graduates might present their own productions, but they must read from a manu-

NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

script. An oration was still without the pale of femininity, save in the seclusion of a society meeting. This last stronghold was more strenuously defended because it was the last, but meantime the years were passing, and standards were changing in the great outside world.

Enter Harriet Louise Keeler of the class of 1870.

I fear that this brilliant and competent young woman was a thorn in the flesh of the conservatives throughout her college course. When certain undergraduate girls came to her room to reason with her about matters which she considered her own business, she made them welcome to the room, walked out, and left them to the enjoyment of the occupied territory. When the lady principal urged that the rules required all young women to be in their rooms at an early hour in the evening, she cheerfully obeyed the regulation—unless she felt like taking an evening walk! It is quite possible that her stormy years with Harriet Keeler had something to do with Mrs. Dascomb's conviction that the time had come for another and a younger occupant of her office. We know, however, that she had another incentive: a certain 'little red haired girl' was ready to take her place.

Miss Keeler was prepared for college in a school for boys, because even in the sixties there was no other place in her vicinity where she could study Greek. By the time that she was ready for college, she might have chosen between two women's colleges in her own state of New York—Elmira and Vassar; but neither institution offered Greek, save as an elective. I suspect that Harriet Keeler came to Oberlin because she wanted to match herself with men

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

and to meet them on their chosen ground of the classics. A handsome, upstanding girl, she had never had the searching experiences of Lucy Stone, or the consecration of Antoinette Brown, which had kept the older women careless of any slight or injustice which did not affect large interests. Harriet Keeler resented whatever she found in Oberlin that she thought petty or inconsistent. In her later years, after more experience of life, she could say that Oberlin's treatment of women was fair and even generous. In the flush of her youth she did not say that and did not think it. In her time there had been a growing toleration of women in public functions, and to this new spirit Oberlin had made concessions, as we have seen. But these did not satisfy her. If she came to Oberlin to compete with men in the classroom, she would naturally desire to do the same upon the speaker's platform, since she had good reason to trust the result. The coming years were to prove that she had exceptional power over an audience.

Graduation day came. Doubtless the faculty rejoiced that Miss Keeler could not raise Lucy Stone's old issue of the right to read her own essay, that the old question was settled, and in a way that should satisfy even her. She did not raise any issue before the crucial moment—and then she stormed and took the last line of defense. Demurely she tripped upon the stage, holding the conventional pages like the other sweet girl graduates. Demurely she read the first sentence, eyes modestly fixed upon her manuscript—and then the paper was discarded, the brave eyes swept the rows of startled faces, and the sweet girl graduate addressed the audience!

NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

That same year she entered the teaching staff of the Cleveland public schools, and there remained for forty splendid years. Thirty-five women were graduated with her, all but three from the ladies' course. I am told that many were tempted to question the justice of things, when the best teaching prize of the year was borne away by this nonchalant rebel.

In the fall of this year the 'little red haired girl,' now Mrs. Adelia Field Johnston, succeeded Mrs. Dascomb as lady principal. The fourteen years since her graduation had trained her in the poignant school of life. She was still a young woman, but her powers had matured and her fibre had been tested. She had had ample opportunity to discover that her position demanded the very qualities which she had been taught to believe superfluous and unbecoming in a woman—the qualities which control and convince an audience, even that most difficult of audiences, one composed of young girls. It fell to Mrs. Johnston, her instinctive conservatism reinforced by the demands and the traditions of her position, to give the deathblow to this ancient survivor of "the beautiful seclusion in which female loveliness should live and move." It fell to President Fairchild, only six years after he had disclaimed the influence of Oberlin in training 'lady lecturers,' to commit one of the many splendid inconsistencies of Oberlin's history. I quote from Harriet Keeler's life of Mrs. Johnston. The time was the summer of 1873.

"It seems that at this time she [Mrs. Johnston] usually spent a part of her summer vacation at her mother's home in Hillsdale; and it happened one Sunday morn-

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

ing that she went to the Sunday school of one of the principal churches of the town. The Superintendent cordially welcomed her, and then without asking permission, indeed, without saying anything whatever to her, announced to the school that he hoped the lessons would be recited promptly as Mrs. Johnston of Oberlin was present and would address them. At this she became panic-stricken; here was a 'mixed audience,' which she was invited to address; should she do so it might be at the cost of her position in Oberlin. As the lessons were still going on, there was time to think. 'I saw but one way possible,' she said, 'and that was to run.' So she watched the Superintendent and when he was elsewhere engaged, she quietly slipped out of the door and fled!

"The following autumn, after the College term opened, she went one day to see the President at his office. She related her absurd and humiliating experience and enquired what was to be the future policy of the college. The President was greatly amused; and in that quiet way, which those who knew him still recall as a personal charm, said that his observation and experience had convinced him that most women knew a great many things that it would do most men good not only to hear but to heed, and so far as he could speak for the College any woman who had anything to say and could find anybody to listen was at liberty to say it;—and so that wraith of the past was laid to rest."

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From the Faculty Record, July 6, 1874

"A request from the Ladies' Literary Societies to be allowed to present orations at anniversaries was

NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

discussed at considerable length. The remarks showed substantial unanimity in regarding public orations and discussions on the part of young ladies as not in good taste. As to the wisdom of granting the request there was some diversity of views."

From the Faculty Record, July 10, 1874

"A letter was read from Pres. Finney urging the Faculty and Ladies' Board to grant the Young Ladies permission to engage in the same Rhetorical Exercises as the gentlemen.

"The following resolution was passed after considerable discussion.

"Res. That while our opinion is still that the appearance of young ladies in public orations is not in the best of taste, or desirable, we grant the request of the Eleoian [sic] Soc. for Miss Rice to deliver her exercise at the coming anniversary from memory, and of Miss Rice and Miss Wilcox to have the same privilege at Commencement."

Requiescat in pace!

* * * * *

(Extracts from an address given by Lucy Stone at Oberlin's semi-centennial in 1883, thirty-seven years before the passing of the nineteenth amendment.)

"Oberlin is proud of her founders, of their poverty, of their faith, of their perseverance. Their story will be told as long as one stone of all they builded remains upon another. Oberlin is proud of her theology, of her free thought,

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

of her classical acquirements, of her anti-slavery record, of her temperance record, of her plain living and high thinking; but her highest glory in history, the crowning achievement of her founders, will be that Oberlin was the pioneer in establishing the co-education of men and women.

"The women of fifty years ago had no choice. There were no educational societies to help young women. They must help themselves. Men came to Oberlin for various reasons; women because they had nowhere else to go. But the women who came, like the men who came, had to bend themselves to toil, but under different circumstances. It was good for them.

"It is true, some of us worked for three cents an hour and boarded ourselves. Some took in washing at $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents per dozen. One, whose rich father would give her no money, but provided her with ample store of clothes, sold the silk that was for dresses and used the money to clothe her mind. But downright work was honored in Oberlin, and it was shared by everybody.

"But Oberlin had not quite measured the meaning, nor was it quite ready for the full application, of Father Shipherd's words that 'the neglected and misjudged sex should have all the instructive privileges which have unreasonably distinguished the leading sex from theirs.' Custom, which held women to silence in public places, sat with the Faculty and with the Ladies' Board, and shook its minatory finger at the daring girls who wanted the discipline of rhetorical exercises and discussions, and to read their own essays at Commencement. But time has altered all this and settled its right.

NEW WINE AND OLD BOTTLES

"And what is the result of this example at Oberlin of fifty years of co-education? . . . Behold more than half the colleges of the land wide open to women. Boston University, Cornell, the State Universities of Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Kansas, Nebraska, with all their departments, are open to women, as are other colleges almost innumerable. Colleges for women alone, Vassar, Wellesley, and Smith, have been opened.

"But the work for women is not done.

"I should be no true daughter of Oberlin, still less should I be true to myself, if here to-day I failed to ask this younger Oberlin to take another and the next step in the great movement for the political equality of women.

"Oberlin is proud that it reached down its hand to help the slaves to their liberty. Oberlin is proud that it reached out its hand to the 'misjudged and neglected sex,' and said, 'The leaves of the tree of knowledge are for you as for us.' Another deed waits for Oberlin to add to its crown of honor, and that is, to affirm the principle of the consent of the governed in its application to women. So to-day, standing here and seeing what Oberlin has done for women, pardon me for appealing, as one of twenty millions who may be taxed, and fined, and imprisoned, and hung, and have never a word to say about it, as one whom the law touches at every point, reaching its hand into my cradle and deciding all about my baby, what shall be its relation to me and mine to it, that touches the dollar I earn, the deed I have to sign, the property I own, and plunges me into the weal or woe of the great Commonwealth of States, and leaves me no voice about it—in behalf of twenty

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

millions of women, on this good day I stand here in Oberlin begging pardon for going beyond the limit of my subject to say, O men who have been so wise, so kind, and so just to women, take one step more!"

Chapter Six

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE AND THE TREE OF LIFE

THE TREE OF LIFE was also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. . . And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof and did eat, and gave also to her husband with her and he did eat."

In the years of our Lord shortly after the founding of Oberlin, we find woman again taking of the tree of knowledge for practically the same reasons—it was a breadwinner. It was attractive to the thought and the imagination; and it was to be desired to make her wise.

But the imagery of the great Book of the Beginnings may lead us further than its author dreamed. There was another tree—the tree of life. Should the woman put forth her hand and take also of it—free life, the life of untrammelled choices and effective action? Did she actually do this as a result of her new opportunities? Do we find that this century of greater opportunities has led to tangible and permanent effects upon women's life and influence? Undoubtedly, yes! Every institution for the higher education

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

of women has its treasure story of enriched womanhood. A few glimpses of the influences about their student lives, and of their work as alumnae will show that the Oberlin women of the first half-century developed even in their undergraduate years qualities of initiative and leadership.

THE COLLEGE IN THE WOODS

It was a queer place to found a college—a primeval forest in an uninhabited township on the frontier. They were a queer pair of founders—two missionary preachers, neither one a college graduate, with no money and no influence with any man of wealth. It might well seem the last place to try the great experiment of coeducation, but perhaps it was the best. The atmosphere was elemental, untainted, vital. There were hardships enough, crudities enough, classmates and tablemates all unversed in the sweet small courtesies of life; but there were also refining influences at work from the first, and these of a sort to favor the joint education of men and women.

First should rank the profound religious convictions of both college and colony. An entire community living in the sense of an ever-present God, the Father of all men, might be crude and it might be fanatical; but it could not be vulgar. Next came the much decried Oberlin Covenant, and its stringent standards of conduct. No one might drink, use tobacco, swear, gamble, take liberties with the opposite sex, or use Sunday for pleasure in Oberlin. The effect, whether intended or not, was to make Oberlin safe for decorous womanhood. Coming, as most of the early Oberlin students did, from farm or country village, noth-

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

ing but a cheap and tawdry knowledge of the world's ways was within their reach. It was to the untold advantage of the women of the thirties that the young men with whom they entered into these untried relations of study and social life should be those who had possessed enough wisdom to remain unsophisticated. The covenant and the community standards were like the tests imposed upon Gideon's band—they weeded out the unfit before they reached the place of trial. As long as Oberlin remained poor, unpopular, and rigid in its requirements of conduct, youths of a certain type felt no inclination to enroll.

The young men of Oberlin might be ignorant of the world's ways, but they understood the trust reposed in them and the responsibility laid upon them. Once in those early days when a new student of a different sort ventured to assume that the women of a mixed school could be treated lightly, a group of upperclass men met him at the place of would-be assignation. After praying with him they flogged him well and gave him enough money to enable him to leave town without delay. They did not claim that they had chosen the ideal way to settle the case, but at least they, as well as the offender, knew what they meant. As for the culprit, it is said that he lived to become a respectable and useful citizen. Whether this happy result was due to the prayers or to the flogging must remain a matter for private judgment.

The origin and growth of the Conservatory of Music in Oberlin is of special interest in our consideration of the education of women in this place. From the first there

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

was organized chorus singing. Without the women students how handicapped they would have been! Very early there was a demand for instruction in instrumental music; and unless we suppose that this furnished an exception to the usual growth of ideal interests in these United States, the main source of this demand would trace itself back to the women. But the women received as much as they gave. They received the direct and indirect influence of good music seriously studied, a refining and elevating force beyond measure, a constant contribution to harmonious development. For men and women alike it was a circumstance of untold value that three of the earliest professors in this college of the woods—Finney, Morgan, Cowles—were passionately fond of music and believed in music as a spiritual power. Probably this deep interest made possible the work of Professor George Allen, a pupil of Lowell Mason in Boston, which is another way of saying that he had enjoyed the best musical advantages of America. Allen was worthy of his master. He organized and nourished a school of music which grew into the conservatory, a department of the college life which has been like an open door into the reaches of beauty and imagination.

There is something most alluring in the development of this, the most ethereal of the arts, in a frontier college, manned by the sons of the Puritans—a fine flower of austerity and sacrifice, like the delicate bells of the columbine on a precipice, springing from the rock, but fed by its living springs.

Here, indeed, might be traced another of the influences

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

which women have brought to bear on higher education. The college of the thirties still showed much of the limitation of its monastic origin in the bleakness of the curriculum and in the way of life, both untouched by the larger culture of art, music, and even of contemporary literature. The coming of women to college brought a new demand and a larger scope, and both the course of study and the way of life soon felt their presence. From the choirs and choruses came the Oberlin Musical Union, now past its centennial, the ever-sustained and growing musical ideals of the college, and the great musical and material development of the conservatory. Pregnant with meaning to us is the early criticism of Oberlin that "nothing but a young ladies' seminary would have a music school." Music entered the colleges by way of coeducation in Oberlin. Women students and able women of the conservatory faculty shared with men in making the conservatory what it has become. Music, thus welcomed, now has an honored place at every college.

The gradual development of music at Oberlin has been paralleled in later days by the growing presence in her life of literature, art, drama. In each of these fields, women, both students and faculty, have broken bonds and have stretched out toward wider horizons. One has only to think, for example, of Mrs. Johnston, Mrs. Morrison, Mrs. Rice and Miss Wattles, and others who are still among us. Elsewhere, as at Oberlin, woman's characteristic contribution has been felt. Her need for fullness of life has brought enrichment to every modern college experience.

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

Oberlin College, like other cultural centers in the Western Reserve, was the child of New England. Amherst, Williams, Dartmouth, Yale, Andover Seminary, Yale Divinity School, had trained most of the early Oberlin professors, and the colleges had sent of their best, the majority of them honor men. To all the students, both men and women, such men would count for more than the subjects they taught, but there was another influence, especially helpful to those early students and helpful to our own thought, too, if we should ever be betrayed into supposing that there were no great women before the days of colleges.

This influence was the presence, in the community and the college, of a group of exceptional women, and the fact that, as the first passed away, others took their places, so that Oberlin has enjoyed a noteworthy succession of women rich in wisdom and in character. Their presence has made for high quality in college and community. Perhaps the best service of the ladies' board was that it gave such women a wider sphere of influence.

Before the college was founded, and really a joint founder with her husband, we find Esther Shipherd, brave, strong, intelligent, fastidious in tastes and habits, keenly alive to the joys of a settled home with beautiful surroundings, reared for the easy occupations of a good social circle, urgent in her desire that her children should have the best—and yet able to sacrifice everything to the call that came to her husband to serve the 'desolate West.' Nor was hers the submission of the passively obedient wife. She was her husband's comrade, his adviser, his other self. In her own writing she has told us that she had confidence in his

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

scheme of a school and colony because she had "watched the workings of his mind" so that she "did not dare to lay a straw in the way." We need not wonder that the husband of Esther Shipherd should know that women must work with men if God's kingdom was to be established in the West.

From very early times we find a special title conferred by common consent upon the chief founder and his wife. They were called Father and Mother Shipherd. He was but thirty-one when he founded Oberlin, and the couple could not have seemed advanced in age, even to the young folk of the collegiate institute. The titles were clearly terms of grateful affection, not a courtesy to length of years. It is significant that these titles were once more—only once more—conferred. John Keep and his wife were called Father and Mother Keep. It is not fanciful to see in this unstudied tribute an instinctive recognition of the ideal dual in human relations. The young people honored the twain that had become one. Side by side with the testimony of the Hebrew sage, "The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her," may be placed the testimony of Father Keep.

"To her I owe much, yea, it verily seems to me all, of what success I have had in my ministerial labors. In this sphere she was always a reliable guide. Her counsels—deliberate, never obtrusive, always given in a kind spirit, yet clear and firm—became to me *law*, so fully did they bear the proof that she had the mind of Christ."

In 1835 it fell to John Keep, as chairman of the trustees, to cast the deciding vote on the color question which determined Oberlin's destiny. He must have known that it

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

would end his career as a popular city minister, but he did not falter. A man with a wife like Lydia Keep is absolutely free to do the right as he sees it, without fear of her regrets and her reproaches. The heart of her husband safely trusted in her.

When Esther Shipherd had taken the marriage vows, she thought she was wedded to a thriving young business man. Lydia Keep supposed that her husband, a Yale honor man, a talented public speaker, would go far in his chosen profession. Neither woman was a magician. The one could not have made a successful manufacturer out of John Shipherd, nor could the other have turned John Keep into a time-serving recipient of fat salaries and ecclesiastical honors. But each might have broken the courage and foiled the purposes of her husband, and each chose instead to be his strong tower of refuge. The husbands of such women naturally demanded freedom of training and opportunity for all women, and the value of these two women to the young womanhood of the new college was beyond all calculation.

We have already noted how Joseph Emerson, Zilpah Grant, Mary Lyon sent to the new college in the Ohio woods their vigorous streams of influence through Mrs. Dascomb and Mrs. Cowles. We might dwell long upon the women who have helped to preserve the ideals and form the character of this college and community—the still living traditions of the exquisite housekeeping of Mary Caroline Allen and the magnificent teaching of the most elementary subjects in the hands of Rebecca Rayl, afterward Mrs. Finney. There were Mrs. Giles Shurtleff, bene-

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

ficent friend and hostess, and Mrs. Hiram Mead, whose fine and strong qualities were afterward utilized to the full when she became president of Mt. Holyoke College. Nor should we overlook the wisdom and resourcefulness of Mrs. Hatch, first matron of Talcott Hall, or the 'chill, fastidious gentleness' of Mrs. Monroe. These women, and very many who cannot here be named, gave royal gifts to the girls of Oberlin. But no story of Oberlin women could be in any sense complete without the mention of Mrs. Lord.

Mrs. Elizabeth Russell Lord was born in 1819, entered the Oberlin Collegiate Institute in 1837, became assistant principal in 1884, concluded her active service for Oberlin in 1900, and died in 1908. She was not connected with the college during the long period from 1842 to 1884, but she was never far away, and she seems to have kept in touch with the college life. She knew all of Oberlin's presidents, and probably all of the principals or deans of women. She lived into the twentieth century; and yet she had experienced the pioneer life of Ohio, both at home and in college. She once told me that she remembered the time when all the money that came into their home was saved for postage and taxes. These required cash, but everything else they made for themselves or obtained by barter. When she made her first journey to Oberlin, the Black Swamp was neither frozen nor dried. There was a passable stage line as far as Elyria. There she had to leave her trunk and plod nine miles through the mud.

Mrs. Lord's student life in Oberlin amounted to three years, but the time was broken by attendance at two other schools. In her youth graduation did not loom large in a

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

young woman's program, but there was considerable vogue for changing from school to school, probably to get the cream of all.

At one of her schools she had made the acquaintance of a certain Dr. Asa Lord, and this gentleman wrote her to ask whether she were engaged. She demurely replied "Yes," that she had promised the trustees of a certain school. The Doctor was obliged to explain just what kind of an engagement he meant. He did it so successfully that he accomplished the ulterior object of his inquiry, and Mrs. Lord worked with her husband through many years of constructive achievement, principally in the education of the blind. After his death she continued his work for several years, but finally, when on a visit in Oberlin, she was commandeered by Mrs. Johnston, who saw in her an ideal assistant principal.

Exact Mrs. Lord! She never forgot, never made a mistake in her records, never lost anything, was never absent or tardy.

Courteous Mrs. Lord! She had a punctilious politeness that never failed, and often put to shame the younger generation.

Resourceful Mrs. Lord! Did you ever want a particular sort of string or paper or button or wire, and fail to get it if you asked Mrs. Lord? Did she ever waste a moment in hunting for it?

Generous Mrs. Lord! A woman of ample means, quite independent of her modest salary, her purse was open for every good cause. She helped materially with Sturges Hall, and her gift of \$11,000 made Lord Cottage possible.

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

Wonderful Mrs. Lord! Did you ever notice that all new girls of all departments filed past Mrs. Lord on the opening days, presented their entrance cards, and received the signature or stamp of the assistant principal? Perhaps you thought it a useless piece of red tape. It was not. Mrs. Lord, who already knew all the returning women by face and name, was thus enabled to meet the 'new girls,' and she forgot none of them. As long as she was on the staff, there was one woman here who knew every girl, in every department.

A woman of sixty-five when she began her official work in Oberlin, her dress was modern in its liberal expense, but belonged to the earlier times in its dignity and discretion. She wore habitually black silk and white lace of the best make, and always immaculate.

"Tell me about those caps," said a certain professor who had accompanied Mrs. Johnston in a call upon the new assistant principal. "Are we to have them all the time?"

"All the time."

"Every day?"

"Every day."

"For breakfast, dinner, and supper?"

"For breakfast, dinner, and supper."

"Then," said he, "what with those caps and Professor Monroe, the dignity of this institution is provided for. You and I can work!"

Entirely true. But Mrs. Lord could work too, and none more faithfully.

Dear Mrs. Lord! Many an 'old girl' coming back to Talcott Hall would rejoice to see that figure in its simple

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

dignity of black and white, with that kind outstretched hand and its odd trick of fluttering fingers, and to hear that voice, gentle, solicitous, and yet authoritative, too.

"My dear! Did you put your rubbers on?"

MARRIAGE AND THE NEW GENERATION

It was true of the alumnae of early Oberlin, as it is still true of every group of educated women, that records and statistics tell far less than the truth of their worth to the world, because the majority, and a full proportion of the ablest, choose the occupation of wife and mother. I do not know of any method of estimating the amount of intelligence and unselfishness that goes into the homes of a people, or any measure of its value. Homes, like nations, are happiest and most useful when they have no history. I do know that, taken in the large, the happiness and the high quality of the homes made by Oberlin women are beyond question. No advocate of coeducation offers any apology for the obvious fact that young men and women may become interested in each other during their college course and may eventually marry. For many, four years of serious study under the same leadership and of wholesome recreations mutually enjoyed seem to afford a safer and more natural basis for the choice of a life companion than formal dances or wild night parties. In the case of those who marry outside the college circle, previous companionship in the work and play of college life apparently aids both sexes in the knowledge and judgment which must figure in the choice of a life mate.

Family groups returning in successive generations to

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

Alma Mater are of course a feature of any college of considerable age; but this is especially marked where either father or mother, perhaps both, may make the connection with the past. Many groups, like the Cowles, Finney-Cochran-Cox, Steele, Plumb, Wright, Fenn-Andrews-Tenney, and Metcalf families have thus sealed their college relationship; and several are now in their fourth generation at Oberlin.

Three Gurney brothers, Daniel, '22, John, '24, and Thomas, '27, have an unbroken record as the husbands of Oberlin women; they are sons and grandsons of Oberlin men and women. Carl Patton, '88, pastor of the First Congregational Church in Los Angeles; Julia Patton, '95, professor of English at Russell Sage; Dwight Bradley, '12, an outstanding clergyman of this generation; Wesley Frost, '07, former American Consul at Montreal, are the children of Oberlin men who married Oberlin women. Dwight Bradley's father is Dan Bradley, '82, long a Cleveland pastor and Oberlin trustee; his grandmother was Sarah Blachly, '45, who married the famous missionary, Bradley of Siam. Wesley Frost's father is William Goodell Frost, '76, president of Berea College from 1892 to 1920.

John R. Rogers, '76, inventor, Charles Martin Hall, '85, discoverer of the aluminum process, Robert A. Millikan, '91, physicist, Philip King, '10, president of Washburn College, are the sons of Oberlin fathers and Oberlin mothers.

Such instances might be multiplied indefinitely; but these will serve to illustrate the origin, growth, and character of college clans. Random instances are not proof of any

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

theory of eugenics, but these do suggest that there is a wealth of material for scientific study in college records and a possibility of establishing laws of heredity other than those which have immortalized the Jukes family.

A PIONEER OF THE RESERVE

The earliest Oberlin alumna to remain unmarried was Betsey Mix Cowles, of the ladies' course, one of the four young women who in 1840 so modestly read their parting essays in the assembly room of Ladies' Hall. During the undergraduate years of Antoinette Brown and Lucy Stone, when Oberlin's New England-bred faculty and ladies' board were striving to bottle the new wine of their making in the receptacles of past ages, one of Oberlin's graduate women was actually making public speeches! Nor were these pretty parlor essays and primary school 'remarks.' They were burning arraignments of slavery, intended to influence votes and accomplishing that result. For following close upon the Western Reserve's preachers and teachers of New England training was a new generation of the same strong stock, but of freer environment and of less dominant traditions. The story of Miss Betsey's anti-slavery speeches comes to us from sources outside Oberlin, and it is noteworthy that the 'female speaker' does not seem to need explaining. There is no hint of disapproval, much less of insults and mobs, such as Lucy Stone was soon to meet in Massachusetts. In short, the Ohio Reserve was a second edition of New England, but it was also Western, with counter currents in its life.

Betsey Cowles was a pioneer of the pioneers. She came

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

of that New England stock which took deep root in the Reserve. She could claim among her ancestors Peregrine White and the Reverend Thomas Hooker; as a contemporary kinswoman, Zilpah Grant. Before her death a relative came into the world who would presently be known as Senator Theodore Burton. The family gave to Oberlin College two assistant teachers, two professors, two members of the board of trustees, and a long list of students and graduates.

Betsey's father, the Reverend Giles Hooker Cowles, came from Bristol, Connecticut, to Austinburg, Ohio, in 1811. He had been called to the pastorate of one of the few churches then organized in the Western Reserve. Little Betsey was then about one year old. It seems an appalling journey for a baby—weeks in length, hundreds of miles through the unbroken forests, and other hundreds along civilization's edge, where food and water were most dangerous. Nevertheless, little Betsey did not die, and whatever germs she swallowed appeared to have been good for her; she was healthy, handsome, cheerful, vital to her fingers' ends.

She was thirty years old when she was graduated from the ladies' course; she had done some uncommonly capable and original work before she entered. The infant school system had been recently introduced into the United States from England, and this young woman in the backwoods was able to master and adapt the valuable principles of the new departure so successfully that "her infant schools became the wonder and delight of the surrounding country."

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

After she had completed her studies in Oberlin, she taught at Portsmouth with brilliant success and was then called back to her home town, as principal of the women's department in Grand River Institute, Austinburg. It was still pioneers' country. Good wheat was received at the institute at the rate of a bushel for a week's board.

We shall never know the full story of her work as a teacher, but we may catch glimpses of an originality and initiative which surprise us when we consider the primitive conditions and the repressive traditions under which she worked. After some five years at Grand River Institute she went to aid the foundation years of public school work in Massillon and Canton. She helped to organize the normal school at Hopedale, Ohio, and the state normal school at Bloomington, Illinois. After that she was superintendent of schools in Painesville, a position rarely offered to a woman even now.

It was during her principalship at Austinburg that Miss Cowles found that she could address audiences with telling effect, and she began to speak against slavery. It is said that it was she who awakened Ashtabula County from its indifference to the burning question, and that this awakening resulted in the election to Congress of some of the founders of the anti-slavery party in those crucial years before the Civil War. This is entirely possible. During the years when public sentiment was changing, political parties were so evenly matched in the Western Reserve that one village might hold the balance for a county and might determine the choice of state representative who was to cast a deciding vote for United States senator. We know

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

that something of this nature happened in Oberlin, when the little college community became an important factor in the senatorial election of Salmon P. Chase. It might have happened elsewhere.

In 1850, only two years after Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton called the first woman's rights convention at Seneca Falls, N.Y., a similar convention was held at Salem, Ohio. The presiding officer was Betsey Mix Cowles. Miss Betsey had a talent for starting things. It is fitting that this first unmarried woman among Oberlin's graduates should leave a record of so abundant, useful, and honored a life.

OBERLIN AT THE GOLDEN GATE

Mary Atkins was born in Jefferson, Ohio, in 1819. Her home was one of culture and refinement; she enjoyed exceptional educational advantages for her time, attending schools east of Ohio. It is probable that her own, rather than her parents' volition brought her to that queer Ohio college which admitted women, for her graduation from the ladies' course was in 1845, when she was twenty-six years old. She was the assistant of Mary Adams, principal of the female department, in the college years '47-'49, and for five years thereafter served as assistant principal or principal in the girls' high schools of Columbus and Cincinnati. It is not surprising that she held the best positions and commanded what was then an exceptional salary for a woman, for her next move shows that she was not an ordinary woman.

Mary Atkins had been engaged to a civil engineer whose

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

work had called him to the Isthmus of Panama. There he died of one of the deadly tropical ailments whose control was not to be accomplished for another half century. We do not know who this lover was, or how much time had elapsed after his death before she found it possible to visit Panama, find his grave, and mark it with a memorial inscription. It was in 1854 that she withdrew from the principalship of the Cincinnati high school, and journeyed to the Isthmus. It was a venturesome deed for a woman at that date, but she accomplished her purpose.

The last tribute paid, Mary Atkins was not the woman to go back and pine away with grief. In fact she did not want to return at once, but to fill her life with new experiences and hard work. She continued the journey to California, made helpful acquaintances as she went, and finally reached the town of Benicia, on the great bay of San Francisco. Here a Protestant school for girls had been established some two and a half years before, the first of its type on the Pacific Coast. In the days of the gold rush the proportion of women there was so small that unencumbered women, so able and interesting that they could succeed with a girls' school, must have been far more rare than nuggets of gold. The trustees of the Seminary for Young Ladies at Benicia had appointed two lady principals in quick succession, only to receive equally swift resignations, palliated by invitations to the wedding festivities. I am sure that they were glad indeed to transfer their shifting responsibilities to a capable and experienced woman of thirty-five. Mary Atkins became proprietor and sole manager of the school.

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

She bought and remodelled a spacious dwelling which had come upon the market because it was too large for family use; she "fashioned the warp and woof of the school . . . obtained co-workers with ideals like her own," and for eleven years "wove these into the hearts and lives of the girls."

Mills College—beautiful in situation, generous in equipment, standard in scholarship—enrolls Mary Atkins with Dr. and Mrs. Mills, as one of the actual founders of the institution. Should we ask why Mary Atkins is counted at all, the answer would be that it is because she counted and still counts, for so much. Rosalind Keep, in her history of Mills College, devotes two chapters to the school at Benicia. She quotes page after page of testimony to the high qualities of Miss Atkins—her lofty ideals, her personal charm, her decision and tact, her loving sympathy with girlhood. She gave first place to the health of her girls, but she expressed her solicitude in wise and practical ways—cleanliness, abundant and well-chosen food, gymnastics made interesting, the out-of-doors made attractive, recreational dancing. Hers was one of those large natures that can keep true to ideals but change their expression.

The recorded memories of Mary Atkins would make a crown of honor for any woman. One former pupil recalls the library, her first acquaintance with Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, and the practice of preserving the best class themes in beautifully bound volumes. Another says that she found in Miss Atkins "that which money could not buy, inspiration." She says that she learned from her "many things not found in books." One remembers how she

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

made character and clear thinking the foundations of all progress and sent back to the home, the schoolroom, and the church, useful, intelligent women. Another dwells lovingly upon the music room and the young ladies' parlor, where the daily recreation hour was so keenly enjoyed, and where girls "learned the little courtesies and the the formal etiquette of good society. . . Music, dancing, and social intercourse are especially associated with these rooms." The health and high spirits of the girls are noted here and elsewhere. The assistants whom Miss Atkins selected are not forgotten, especially Julia Rappleye, an Oberlin graduate of 1855.

Miss Atkins discovered her own successors. She met Dr. and Mrs. Cyrus T. Mills in Honolulu, during a year's furlough in which she crossed the Pacific and visited the Orient, and she urged upon them the future possibilities of the school in Benicia. These three are rightfully called founders of Mills College.

AN OBERLIN LIFE FOR LIBERTY

The year after the woman's rights convention, over which Betsey Cowles presided, witnessed the graduation of Sally Holley from the ladies' course. She came to Oberlin from Rochester, New York. Her personal history points to a family life of culture and distinction. Her grandfather's three sons were graduated from three New England colleges, Williams, Yale, and Harvard. Her father, Myron Holley, was a member of the New York State Legislature and became chairman of the commission under which the Erie Canal was constructed. Sally's early childhood was

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

passed in a beautiful home, amid the refinements that belong to such homes.

The canal was opened in 1825, an epoch-making achievement for the upbuilding of both East and West, but the cause of financial disaster to the head commissioner. He gave up his home and turned to market gardening, often peddling his own produce in Rochester. Presently he went back to political life as one of the leading builders of the new Liberty Party. In 1840 he worked with feverish zeal for the election of James G. Birney, the first anti-slavery candidate for the presidency, but this first Liberty candidate polled only seven thousand votes from the entire country. Then, when Myron Holley had learned all that life could teach him of ingratitude and disappointment, he died. The bells were ringing for the inauguration of Harrison, and the Erie Canal had increased the country's prosperity by leaps and bounds.

Yet Sally Holley saw nothing in life so well worth following as her father's example—his constructive ability, his honesty, his self-sacrifice, his disregard of convention, and especially his devotion to freedom. It is said that she had many suitors, and her relatives would have been glad to open their homes to her, but she was resolved to take up her father's unfinished work. It was in order to fit herself for public speaking that she entered Oberlin in 1847—the year of Lucy Stone's graduation; but Sally Holley's paramount object was not women's rights, it was anti-slavery.

She had so little money that she needed the gift of forty dollars from a Unitarian minister and a scholarship from

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

an Oberlin trustee to enable her to begin her course. The accepted standard of women's education was even then so low that in spite of her brilliant intellect this daughter and niece of college men required the full four years to complete the ladies' course. Probably she had read widely, for she could write ably when she entered. She had been well trained in dancing, but she knew very little arithmetic. She said that few young ladies of her acquaintance knew the multiplication table.

Sally and her close friend, Caroline Putnam, paid part of their board by doing a family ironing. George Kellogg, Mrs. Fairchild's brother, often read to them while they ironed. I do not know what literary gems he selected, but we are told that their laughter could be heard across Tappan Hall Square. Quite shocking for young ladies in the forties! It was well that Sally Holley knew how to laugh at the whimsicalities of this queer world. She was soon to take its sorrows to her heart of hearts.

Sally was a member of L.L.S. If Lucy Stone's special debating club survived Lucy's graduation, we may be sure that Sally was a member. She was as true to her colors as was Lucy Stone to hers. There was a certain Lucy Stanton in L.L.S., the first colored woman graduated from Oberlin, and said to be the first ever admitted to a literary society. Sally Holley saw that the young woman was capable of filling a leading position, and it was largely through her influence that Miss Stanton was elected to the presidency of the society. We are told that she discharged the duties of the office with grace and dignity.

We have seen Oberlin's advanced and yet conservative

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

position upon the woman question, and there was much the same attitude toward anti-slavery. She was unflinching in her support of certain principles, but was not enthusiastic in her support of certain abolitionists. She did not encourage their visits. To hear them at their best one must go elsewhere. Once there was an anti-slavery meeting in Akron which Sally Holley and Caroline Putnam wanted to attend. They hired a horse from Munson's livery stable for three days at fifty cents a day and drove to Akron. At another time they drove to Litchfield, Medina County, to hear Abby Kelley Foster. Sally's graduating essay was entitled "Ideals of Womanhood." Such a topic under the treatment of the average graduate would result in a string of platitudes; not so with Sally Holley. Her essay was a consecration to freedom.

The years that followed were filled with the bitterness and the inspiration of a reformer's life. She traveled and lectured in Ohio, New England, Pennsylvania, and New York. Her college friend, Caroline Putnam, was due for graduation one year later; Miss Putnam did not wait for the senior studies when Miss Holley was facing the first experiences of a 'lady lecturer.' She was Miss Holley's traveling companion, secretary, and lifelong friend. Sally Holley worked with reformers whose names are familiar in the history of the great struggle to abolish slavery—Abby Kelley, Parker Pillsbury, Sojourner Truth, Samuel J. May, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone.

After the Civil War the work of the abolitionist was done, and to many it meant honorable discharge after hard and faithful service. Not so with Sally Holley.

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

In 1868 Miss Holley was fifty years old, tall, handsome, of distinguished presence, long past the unthinking self-sacrifice of youth, keenly alive to the delights of refined and intellectual surroundings. What was the motive that impelled her to follow Caroline Putnam to Lottsburg, Virginia, to build up a school and community center for the negro population? She says, "We came out of love and pity for the colored people." Here were people who "did not know a letter of the alphabet or the names of the days of the week; could not count on their fingers or name the state they lived in." Twenty years later she writes that they have "taught hundreds and hundreds to read, write, cipher, besides some knowledge of geography, history—especially that of the United States and the story of our own government. . . . Some of our old pupils are now teaching public colored schools in this part of the state, earning every month twenty-five dollars. Many of our boys and girls are in service in Baltimore and New York."

Like other inhabitants of this mortal frame, Miss Holley's moods varied. At one time she writes, "I do not know the meaning of the word lonely," at another she speaks of "this life in its awful isolation." Toward the end she writes "this work is more and more a success every year. I want to persevere a few years longer." But the prospect of a Christmas vacation in New York City stirs all her repressed instincts for leisure and beauty and companionship. "O happy day! After nine months of this Virginia labor!"

She did not know that her labor was ended. She died in New York, of pneumonia. She was seventy-five years old, but she had never laid down her armor. She was

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

buried beside the father whose thorny path she had not feared to tread.

HERE AND THERE

Catherine Van Valkenburg, whose college days are associated with the origin of Aelioian, married Charles B. Waite the year after her graduation. She became the mother of six children and was also a teacher, a writer, an editor, a lawyer, and a reformer. Judge and Mrs. Waite were leaders in the early movement for women's rights in Illinois. In 1874 she edited *The Crusader*—a publication concerned with the drink problem, although the Crusaders of the 1870's did not see eye to eye with those of the 1930's! When Mrs. Waite was fifty-five years old, she entered the Chicago Law School, was graduated in 1886, and duly licensed to practice law by the Supreme Court of Illinois. Very few women had attempted the study of law in her day; but we have proof of the respect which her work commanded in the fact that after her graduation she was appointed to edit the *Chicago Law Times*, a quarterly periodical. Her daughter tells us that she never intended to enter upon general law practice, but she wanted legal knowledge and authority in order to defend poor and helpless women whose legal rights were endangered. She never accepted fees.

Sarah Cowles Little, born in 1838, whose appearance at 'monthly rhetoricals' marked an important surrender by the faculty, was a young kinswoman of Betsey Cowles and daughter of Rev. Henry Cowles, one of Oberlin's earliest professors. She married Thomas Little, the superintendent

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

of the Wisconsin Institute for the Blind. For fourteen years she assisted him, and when he died even the hungry politicians could name no man so well qualified as Mrs. Little to carry on his work. She was superintendent of that state institution for seventeen years; she began in 1875, almost a half century before the nineteenth amendment.

The women graduates of Oberlin seem to have paid scant reverence to their college's ideals in regard to public speaking. Both before and after the dictum of President Fairchild, those women who had something which they wanted to say to the public did not hesitate to say it. Eliza Parmelee, '44, became the successful manager of a large farm. Her duties were manifold but she was also a power in her community. When she saw that it needed education and inspiration in temperance, she both spoke and wrote for that cause. Mrs. Fanny Jackson Coppin, '65, a colored girl, slaveborn, developed exceptional constructive talent in connection with the management of a Friends' school in Philadelphia; she could and did address many audiences in behalf of her work. Mrs. Emily Huntington Miller, '57, was a trustee of Northwestern for twelve years. Later she gave seven years' service as dean of women and assistant professor of English literature at that university. Helen Shafer, '63, succeeded Alice Freeman Palmer as president of Wellesley, after ten years of service as professor of mathematics. She had virtually created this department and had made it one of the most influential and distinguished in the college. As an administrator her work has been described as wise, farseeing, and modern. The im-

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

press of her high standards, wise leadership, and clear vision in the formative years of the college is part of Wellesley's permanent heritage. There is no reason to suppose that when these women faced the demands of their positions they were dumb.

Mrs. Levancia Holcomb Plumb, '61, was a close friend of Frances Willard; she traveled and spoke with her. Her special talent, however, was financial administration. She was president of the First National Bank of Streator, Illinois, for many years, and is said to have been the first woman bank president in the country.

There were other channels for the more abundant life. Medicine was one of these. In 1849 Elizabeth Blackwell, sister-in-law of both Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown, graduating from medical college in Geneva, New York, opened the way for the woman physician. There was much to be done in the organization of the new profession, and Oberlin women did their share. Mrs. Emiline Horton Cleveland, '53, became professor of anatomy and later of obstetrics in the Women's Medical College of Philadelphia, and a member of the board of managers and of the consulting board of physicians for the women's hospital. At the New York Medical College for Women, Mrs. Mary Ann Wattles Faunce, '68, was professor of anatomy, and Mrs. Sarah Furnas Wells, '65, was professor of obstetrics. The latter's records show an extraordinary range, both occupational and geographic. She had her college study and Bachelor's degree at Oberlin, her professional training in the New York Medical College and the University of Vienna. She was professor of obstetrics in New York and

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

San Francisco, of botany and materia medica in Florida, incorporator of the Woman's Medical College of San Francisco, principal of the sanitary department in the Industrial College at Jacksonville, practicing physician in New York, Turkey, Palestine, Egypt, India, and St. Louis. She was also a writer, one production being *Life and Scenes in Peru*. She does not seem to have suffered from the narrowness of feminine life.

Emma Frances Gaston, '71, was a lecturer on anatomy at the Women's Medical College of Chicago and also director of the Chicago floating hospital. This last suggests the welfare work which enlists so many modern college women. The term is new; but if we study the activities of these college women of older times, we cannot fail to see that practically all their good work was really 'welfare work.'

* * * * *

It must not be inferred that all of Oberlin's student women were always occupied with the strenuous things of life. Evidence to the contrary is to be found in the following artlessly spelled but vivid letter written in the early fifties by a certain Bella, who spent only one year in these academic shades.

. . . I was happily disappointed in the looks of the town. It is larger than I expected and the buildings are all good, with nice yards (which is half in the appearance of the town). one objection is it is very low perfectly level have not seen a hill . . . and another is the colored people. they

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

do not however disturbe me as I have not spoken to but one and that is one of the girls in the kitchen. they are too in the Arithmetic class I recite in. one of them is as black as Egipsian darkness and his name is White the first recitation we had our teacher (he a graduate from the east and calls us out by the alphabet) called out Mr. White to go to the blackboard, this black man marched up to the bord I laughft out loud before I thought what I was doing for he was so unlike his name, I was frightened and looked at the Teacher to see if he looked displeased, he was smiling so I felt a little easier . . . Mr. Morison (that is the Teacher) called shortly after that. I asked him to excuse me for laughing he said it was granted . . . Three colored people sing in the choir.

I like the institution very much we have the best of teachers and they are very good people (the talk in regard to Oberlin is very much enlarged and is not true) . . . The family with whome I board are English . . . and our boarders are very fine people one from Philadelphia one from Canida and the rest from New York so you see we are not very Oberlinish. Nearly all of the teachers are from eastern colleges the principal of the Ladies' department is from M. Holioke* she is a dear good woman. I never learnt so much in so short a time before. we will be through our Arithmetic next week and are in Equasion of the first degree in Algebra . . . oh I was so glad to see [torn] I had started for my recitation in Algebra when I met him he

* A natural mistake on Bella's part, but the truth is that Mrs. Dascomb was at Oberlin before Mt. Holyoke was founded.

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

stayed from 11 till 4. had a good visit from him We went to Music Hall, and Manuel Drennan accompanied us. we have been particularly fortunate in seeing our friends [she then gives four or five masculine names] . . . we were invited to take tea in the Hall last week all we had was bread and butter rusk and milk and fried cake, but I did not care for the supper when I was so *pleasantly situated*, the ladies on one side and the gentlemen on the other side. now don't call me *silly* for we must have some fun occasionally. we had fun week before last and a nice ride, one of the Theological students Mr. Rojers invited a number of us to go out to his fathers [?] miles out of town. a student from Philadelphia took us out that is Mary Lucy and myself . . . everything was very nice especially the dinner we all enjoyed the chicken pie very much it being the first I had tasted since leaving home . . . I have not yet told you how completely my time is taken up . . . we have 8 pages in Arithmetic 5 or 6 in Algebra and more in Chemistry and one hour in writing. our recitations are an hour in length we have to attend prayers every night at five o'clock in the chapel attend a lecture on the bible for two hours every thursday and every tuesday one from Mrs. Dascomb and attend a bible class every saturday, and are obliged to attend church twice every sabbath . . .

I have bought me a new bonnet It is the white straw not fine but pretty the bonnet trimming and all cost me \$4. It is admired by the girls. it is trimmed with white and blue ribbon have not any thing else new.

Chapter Seven

THE AGE OF MADAME JOHNSTON

WHEN Mrs. JOHNSTON succeeded Mrs. Dascomb in 1870, the liberal education of women had passed the stage of first experiment; but some who love to remember Mrs. Johnston's enlightening class hours and brilliant addresses may not know that behind these was her conviction that the work of Oberlin for womankind was still unfinished. They may never have suspected that she had definitely set herself to help her college develop its noble beginning into full realization. It is a story of far vision and long patience.

THE LITTLE RED-HAIRED GIRL

Adelia Antoinette Field came of good New England stock, transplanted from Old England in the seventeenth century. Adelia was an Ohio girl, born in 1837, the entrance year for the women who first earned the Bachelor's degree. In a charming sketch of her childhood, she tells us that her first home was a log house and her cradle a sap trough. She represents the end of the frontier era; there will be more pioneers, but no more log cabins. Both her parents gave careful heed to her early education, supplementing the short sessions and the indifferent instruction of the

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

district school. Her father was an outspoken anti-slavery man. The little girl listened to his discussions with the neighbors and then tried to convert her schoolmates to abolition. Once, during an election, excitement rose to such a pitch that literal mud-slinging was employed. Adelia went home with her hair, her dress, and her dinner basket so much the worse for mixing in politics that her mother hesitated about letting her go to school next morning. "Never mind, Mrs. Field," said a schoolboy neighbor. "We don't mean any harm. We just want to make Adelia talk. She preaches to us like a Methodist minister!"

It was the splash of our far-famed Oberlin mud that landed Adelia Field at the doors of Oberlin College, in the year 1850. Her widowed mother, in a wagon piled high with household goods, was journeying to Chester, Geauga County, whither she was moving because it had a good academy where she hoped to educate her two daughters. It was a three days' pilgrimage, and they had planned to spend one night in Elyria. The roads were so bad that when they reached Oberlin they found that the horses must rest there. Before starting time came next morning, Mrs. Field had learned many things about the college and the colony of Oberlin. She decided to go no farther. There is a legend that the muddy roads of Russia township once saved Oberlin from a pro-slavery mob, because the drunken raiders repeatedly stuck fast, and had time to sober up during the process of sinking down. However that may be, Oberlin mud was shaping Oberlin destiny the night that it halted Mrs. Field's load of household stuff. Can anyone picture or write the story of Oberlin without Mrs. Johnston?

THE AGE OF MADAME JOHNSTON

Six years later Adelia was graduated from the ladies' course. She sorely wanted the classical training, and she always regretted the decision pressed upon her by the wisdom of her elders. But the world still looked askance upon college women, and the less strenuous curriculum was agreed to be the ideal one for the 'average young lady.' Not that Miss Field could have been mistaken for an average young lady, even at nineteen, when she took her diploma. Slender in her white graduating frock, with masses of curling hair of artists' red, with the beautiful dark eyes that sometimes go with such hair, and the rose-leaf complexion that nature adds to it when she is in lavish mood, she must have been both less and more than a typically pretty girl: less because with her large strong features she could not quite measure up to the sweet girl graduate ideal, and more in some mysterious way less easy to define.

But the power that was educating Adelia Field recked not of ladies' courses or Bachelors' degrees. During her college course, the three years of teaching that followed, and her brief married life, she passed through some of the profoundest experiences of human existence. First came her religious experience under the fiery evangelism of Finney; then the slavery agitation in its most intense phase in the years just before the war; then the love and peace of happy marriage, shattered by the fury of civil war; and finally, after they had broken up their home, he to enter the army and she to serve as hospital nurse, her husband's sudden death. Though strong in will and self-mastery as she was even then, this blow seemed likely to crush her.

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

Mrs. Johnston was not mystical. Her sense of objective reality was strong, and so was her demand for orderly processes of thought. And yet, though she seldom spoke of it, she seemed always to cherish, not as a dream, but as a fact, the vision of her lost lover-husband, and his charge not to waste her health in hopeless sorrow, since there was much for her to do through long years to come. It was in the strength of that vision that she faced the future; but the 'little red-haired girl' had become a woman, tried and tempered by elemental fires. Her future development would be in part through her work—always in her case a challenge to the best that was in her—and in part through her recreation, which she got almost entirely from travel and the society of friends. Those who have been in her classes or listened to her lectures need not be told of her many journeys—her repeated summer trips and longer stays in Europe, her visits to the Near East, the West Indies, Egypt, the North Cape, and Alaska. The group of friends with whom she traveled, whom she visited and entertained, would in themselves, have been a liberal education for any man or woman. This was not a matter of good luck and never of intrusive advances on her part. She attracted the admiration of admirable people, and they sought her instead of being sought by her.

I have anticipated my story, and I shall again, for I am trying to indicate the purposes, the influences, and the reactions of Mrs. Johnston's life rather than to establish its dates.

The girl-widow laid her plans to include three objectives—study, observation of the best teaching methods, and wider

THE AGE OF MADAME JOHNSTON

knowledge of the world. There were then no graduate schools for her, but she knew what she wanted. She taught first in Ohio and then in New England. She spent a year in Andover to observe and study the method of Dr. Samuel Taylor, then a famous teacher of Latin in Phillips Academy. Day after day she sat in his class room, noting and analyzing. It is proof of her mental independence that while she spoke of Dr. Taylor with great respect, her own work never showed a trace of his meticulous stress upon details. 'Taylorism' fell into disrepute without affecting Mrs. Johnston's classes.

The following three years were spent in teaching in an academy in Rhode Island. Then came a year and a half of study and travel in Europe. Late in the summer of 1870 she was back in Oberlin, and accepted the position of principal of the women's department. Mrs. Dascomb first took office in 1835 and gave continuous service either as principal or as a member of the ladies' board until 1879. Mrs. Johnston served the college in various capacities until her death in 1910, so that for three quarters of Oberlin's century one or the other of these two women was in the active service of the college.

MRS. JOHNSTON'S OBJECTIVES

Between the years 1832 and 1870 the intellectual needs of women had been scouted, discussed, acknowledged, and in a measure, met. In the Northeast two colleges for women, Elmira and Vassar, were glorious facts. In the Middle West new schools of college rank had been founded, and had made provision for women. In the very year of

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

Mrs. Johnston's return to Oberlin, the great state university of Michigan opened her doors to 'the misjudged and neglected sex.' But Mrs. Johnston began with the conviction that there was still pioneer work to be done for the college status of women, and work that should be done in Oberlin. How definitely her objectives were at that time outlined to herself I do not know, but I do know that her initial steps were exactly right, if she wanted to gain those objectives.

We have already noted the incident which won for her the authority to address mixed audiences, but this was a comparatively trivial issue. She wanted to see the college which had opened its instructive privileges to women, open to them the recognition and occupations which naturally follow. She believed that the principal of the women's department should be a member of the general faculty; that at least a few women should give instruction to college classes; and that success in teaching should be rewarded by promotion to the rank of professor. It is strange to think how chimerical all this would have seemed had she been so unwise as to announce it. The world has still long journeys to take, but it has traveled far since 1870.

"We shall require nothing of you," said the college authorities when they offered her the principalship, "except the administration of your department. You will not be asked to teach."

("They didn't want me to teach," interpolated Mrs. Johnston when she told the story.)

"If I can not do some teaching," she replied, "I will not accept the position."

Those with experience protested that she would find her

THE AGE OF MADAME JOHNSTON

duties as principal more than enough for time and strength, but Mrs. Johnston stood firm, and her ultimatum was accepted.

The college was not lavishly responsive to the demand of the woman, but it played fair, and Mrs. Johnston was careful not to demand more than could be granted without embarrassment to the administration. A woman teaching young men any subject in their college curriculum was unthinkable, but there were assigned to her the classes in science of government and Roman history, both one-term studies in the first year of the ladies' course, and Guizot's *History of Civilization*, a one-term study in the fourth year. In comparison with the classical college course the first year studies were preparatory work, and the *History of Civilization* was not included in the curriculum of regular college students. But Mrs. Johnston had gained her foothold.

The new principal of the women's department found this position as anomalous as her teaching program. The lady principal was not a member of the faculty. The affairs of the women students were supposed to be wholly in the hands of the Ladies' Board of Managers, but their province was administration, not instruction. The enrollment of women had reached forty-three per cent of the total, and it is evident that a large proportion of the faculty discussions and decisions would affect them. Mrs. Johnston made this situation clear, and was invited, not to become a member of the faculty, but to sit with them during the first hour of their session; then she was expected to withdraw. We who knew her in the heyday of her bril-

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

liant career do not wonder that it took only one year to convince those concerned that it was an absurdity to have such a personality in the faculty but not of it. She became a full member at the beginning of her second year.

The unexpected happened promptly in Mrs. Johnston's fourth-year ladies' class. Very soon several young men asked to be enrolled, and the class became so popular that it was included among the college electives—a step which placed her among the college teachers.

She had taken the first step, but a special exception in the case of one college elective would not have satisfied her ends. Fate threw the next opportunity in her way, and she grasped it with an assurance which belongs to those who know their own possibilities without realizing their own limitations. To the latter class Mrs. Johnston did not belong; during her long service in Oberlin she undertook very few things which she could not do. She ventured much this time, but she succeeded.

During the seventies Dr. James Dascomb completed his service, having been professor of chemistry, botany, and physiology since 1834. So did George N. Allen, who had added to his charge of the department of music the teaching of geology and natural history. A much-needed reorganization of this group of departments took place, and several new professors were added to the faculty. Albert Allen Wright began his invaluable work at this time, but he prefaced his career with an absence of two years for study in Europe. There was then no annual crop of young Ph.D's, eager to show their training and their mettle by a temporary appointment. The professors

THE AGE OF MADAME JOHNSTON

on the ground expected to carry the work of an absentee as far as possible, and in this case it was found possible to distribute all but the botany. None would volunteer to teach it. Finally, as a last resort, President Fairchild put the question to each one of his official family, in faculty meeting assembled.

"Professor Blank, will you take the class in botany?"

"No."

"Professor Blank, will *you* teach the class in botany?"

"No."

Thus it went around the circle, and the question reached Mrs. Johnston last.

"Mrs. Johnston, will *you* teach the class in botany?"

And Mrs. Johnston quietly replied,

"If it is desired, I will take the class."

"It will be a great relief to me!" answered the president.

Mrs. Johnston told me the story many years afterward, and she added,

"And I knew the botanical name of just one plant, and that was thoroughwort!"

Audacious her acceptance certainly was, but not as presumptuous as it might now appear. College botany was only just passing out of its elementary stage, and it was entirely suitable for her to leave its laboratory and microscopic aspects for Professor Wright to introduce. Scientific names and classes would not be difficult for her eager mind, since the underlying and fundamental requirement she had already—she knew and loved plant life. She writes that during the sugar-making seasons of her childhood she would live with her father in the woods, and that he taught

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

her from nature as well as from books. She learned to know trees, she says, not only by their bark, but by their leaves and their method of limbing. She knew where to find the first wild flowers. We may be certain that she had much of nature's choicest lore to teach her classes in botany, and just as certain that she taught what she knew and what she could learn, not attempting what she had no opportunity of learning. She made it a success; a required subject in the classical course had now been taught, and acceptably taught, by a woman. She had won another objective.

The opening of the eastern colleges for women was attended by a nation-wide requisition of college trained women for teaching and administration. Opportunities dazzling in their novelty and their scope were opened to women of signal ability.

"You are a fool," said a family friend bluntly to Mrs. Johnston.

I do not know the exact words in which the folly of Mrs. Johnston was set forth, but I am quite sure of their tenor. Should she accept an important position in one of the new women's colleges of the East, Mrs. Johnston might be sure of financial ease in her work, enthusiastic appreciation of all she did, and a fair chance at the best that the college had to offer. In this western coeducational school there would be the grind of poverty for all, while for her would be added the knowledge that not only the rewards of outstanding merit but even the regular promotions would go to the men of the faculty, leaving for her only the work that no man would do, and the prizes that no man wanted.

THE AGE OF MADAME JOHNSTON

"You are a fool," said the family friend, "why do you stay?"

"I stay in Oberlin," replied Mrs. Johnston, "because there is something here that I want to do."

She did it, though she waited long.

It was twenty years after her first appointment to teach Guizot's *History of Civilization* before she became professor of medieval history. Let no one imagine that she spent these twenty years in scheming for her own advancement. And she certainly did not spend them in whining or raging over the hard fate of woman. She had, as she said, something to do in Oberlin, something that challenged all her splendid powers and made her life a glorious adventure. That something, as she saw it, included every item of her work as lady principal, since all of this work was for women.

THE GRACES OF LIFE

Concerning the social culture of Oberlin students in the late sixties and early seventies testimony is at variance. According to an English lady, Sophia Jex Blake, who visited this college in the year 1865, the manners of Oberlin men were on the level of the groups that hung about grocery stores and bar rooms in the 'good old days.' On the other hand, a lady who was a student in Oberlin during 1865, and several years preceding and following, is positively sure that Miss Blake's statements are untrue. There is no reason to think them intentionally false, but the average British traveler of that date found our country hard to comprehend and was prone to hasty generalizations. Where

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

Miss Blake's statements can be checked, they show bewilderment. She tells us that in 1865 only one woman was graduated from the full college course, and she an ex-slave; whereas thirteen A.B. degrees were that year conferred upon women, one of whom was an ex-slave. If we assume a similar process in her report of Oberlin manners, we shall expect an impressionistic, rather than a photographic reproduction, and this is probably what we have. Be that as it may, it is certain that the students of this western college, drawing heavily from a farming population at a time when farming meant isolation, needed much guidance in the minor graces of living. The lady principal had a wide field to cultivate; she did her best. Mrs. Dascomb's best was not always appreciated. Nobody questioned the value of her long and faithful service; she was loved and respected, but we still possess little jokes about her instructions which show that part of her good seed fell upon stony ground, and part fell where the untamed college boys devoured it. She had a young ladies' seminary code of behavior, and it was not always accepted with the docility of good seminary girls. I never knew Mrs. Johnston to take the risks of dogmatic instruction in manners. She never hesitated to speak privately to individuals about personal habits, but for the mass of her students her most telling service was her leadership. With her remarkable magnetism she was sure to be a pattern. I think she knew this, and she took much pains to be a pattern worth the following.

Perhaps she was least successful in her dress. I have known a few women whose clothing was the vehicle of the

THE AGE OF MADAME JOHNSTON

finest self-expression—a poem of delicate perfection. Not so Mrs. Johnston. But she knew the importance of clothes and gave them due attention, so that she became a well-dressed woman, though she always needed the aid of friends and professionals. In some of her formal dresses she was queenly, especially after her hair grew white.

That perfection of self-expression which she did not reach in her dress, Mrs. Johnston assuredly attained in her living room. No one who saw it forgot its beauty, its interest, its restfulness and its charm. When you called upon Mrs. Johnston, you were always at your best—in part because you were never straining to be something other than your real self in good mood. You forgot to watch your grammar or your attitudes or to wish that you had worn better gloves; you had other and more interesting things to think about. She was a matchless narrator, as anyone might know by trying to tell one of her stories again. She was intensely dramatic—in fact, Oberlin College deprived the stage of two magnificent actors, Adelia Field Johnston and Charles Grandison Finney. This is not to say that they were insincere, for they acted no part in which they did not believe, but they were superb in their rendering of what they felt to be truth.

Mrs. Johnston originated many social affairs and managed them with correctness and dignity, yet so that everyone enjoyed them. Out of these influences grace and refinement naturally grew among the students. When she brought details before her girls, she had her own methods. She varied them constantly, but a single anecdote is illustrative.

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

Before the day of systematic physical training it was hard for the ordinary girl to appreciate the beauty of correct walking or the ugliness of a slovenly gait. At a certain 'general exercise' Mrs. Johnston appeared before her assembled audience, striding to her place with an awkward gait that made everybody stare. Without a word and without a change of expression she left the room and returned several times, strutting, mincing, lounging, stamping, until she had run the gamut of ways *not* to walk, and the room rang with the laughter and applause of the girls. Finally she entered the room with her usual graceful and easy step and began one of her delightful travel stories, without the slightest reference to the curtain raiser.

This diffusion of influence took time—not years, but decades. It would have been a shorter and easier way, to give a series of general exercises upon etiquette, carriage, and interior decoration. But these would not have been quoted nor would they have lived for fifty years!

Mrs. Johnston's second decade found her busy in the improvement of Oberlin's material provision for women. Sturges Hall had been completed only three years when a far more urgent need again tested Mrs. Johnston's skill and tact in the field of college finances. In 1886 Ladies' Hall was destroyed by fire. It was Mrs. Johnston who approached and interested Mr. and Mrs. Baldwin and Mr. and Mrs. Talcott, the largest donors of the new dormitories. Mrs. Lord, for many years Mrs. Johnston's efficient assistant and close friend, came to her with the gift which resulted in Lord Cottage. The Rockefeller skating rink, later transformed into the main floor of the Women's Gymnasium,

THE AGE OF MADAME JOHNSTON

was given at her request. Several other buildings came from families that were, through more than one generation, her warm personal friends—the Dudley Allens, the Lucien Warners, the Severances, the Keeps and the Clarks. There are two funds named by the donors for Mrs. Johnston, the professorship of art, and the L.L.S. fellowship. The A.A.F. Johnston professorship of art is a worthy memorial to her significant contribution to the study and appreciation of art in this college. There is a beautiful suite in Baldwin Cottage which might well be named the Johnston rooms, for they were planned for her by the donor of the building, with the express condition that she should occupy them as long as she desired.

At times in the history of this college it has been thought and said that the women were having more than their fair share of the college equipment. It is true that the first Ladies' Hall—a frame building—was begun a year earlier than the bricks were laid for Tappan Hall. It is also true that the second Ladies' Hall was financed by subscriptions from the alumni, both men and women. With these exceptions, if they be exceptions, all the material advantages of the women may be traced to women's efforts. From the founding of L.L.S. to the raising of the women's fellowships, they have organized well and have held to certain purposes. They have been able to wait without forgetting their object, so that Dr. Hanna's dream of a woman's field and swimming pool could be realized in the time of the successor of her successor. And the college loyalty of Oberlin women has never been frittered away in paltry wrangles over small grievances. Comparisons are not only

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

odious; they are also misleading. I am not comparing Oberlin women with other college women or Oberlin women with Oberlin men. I merely suggest that Oberlin women have constantly improved their position by means of certain high qualities. It is a justification of the higher education of women which we have a right to welcome.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Very early in the nineteenth century American educators were awakening to the need of some form of organized physical activity in connection with student life. The leading men's colleges of New England had introduced Jahn gymnastics, under the direction of German political refugees, while younger institutions and those in newer country were experimenting with manual labor. Mary Lyon characteristically used both ideas, modifying both to suit her own sense of the practicable and the desirable. Mt. Holyoke was opened in 1837 with manual labor required to the extent of a moderate assignment of domestic work and physical training to the extent of drills in calisthenics or group evolutions with dancing steps. After 1862 the Dio Lewis gymnastics replaced calisthenics at Mt. Holyoke. The first catalogue of Elmira College, 1855-56, requires "a moderate amount of domestic occupation," and encourages "exercise in the open air." In 1858-59 a daily walk is required, and in 1864-65, in addition to the daily walk and the domestic duties, Dio Lewis gymnastics are required "at least twice each week." Vassar's second year, 1866, saw the opening of a riding school and calisthenic hall, where the Dio Lewis exercises were used.

THE AGE OF MADAME JOHNSTON

In these schools, and in Oberlin, the recognition of the need of systematic physical activities for women and the effort to meet this need, were far in advance of any adequate supply of scientifically trained teachers. Dr. Dio Lewis had been before the public as a writer and lecturer since about 1853, but the Normal Institute of Physical Education was not incorporated by him in Boston until the spring of 1861 and was the first school of physical culture to be established in the United States. It offered a course of only ten weeks.

We have seen that manual labor, not simply encouraged as a means for reducing expenses, but required as a constituent element of a liberal education, was one of John Shipherd's cherished dreams. At the start it seemed to be an undoubted success; before long it was recognized as an expensive experiment. His college farm and his silk-worm establishment have passed into Oberlin history as his only conspicuous failures. Nevertheless, his underlying idea is, or ought to be, an abiding principle. As expressed in the first catalogue, he felt that education should "meet the needs of man as a compound being" and should recognize "the intimate connection between mind and body." By the addition of physical labor to the established college course he hoped to train the whole man—body, mind, and soul. But compulsory manual labor soon disappeared and life was easier, if less helpful, especially for the women. Out-of-door sports for them hardly existed in the time of early Oberlin. Beginning about the sixties they played croquet, and probably this was their alpha and omega until tennis came in. Indeed vigorous field sports for women

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

must have been impossible; I know of no costume then tolerated in which they could have been played.

However, even before the principalship of Mrs. Johnston, something was done with physical exercises for women. We are told that Sally Holley, enrolled from 1847 to 1851, "helped with the calisthenic classes in the assembly room of the first Ladies' Hall, because she had been taught dancing." Probably the same excellent reason held for Mary Atkins, '45, assistant principal 1847-1849, who later introduced dancing, calisthenic exercises, dumb-bell drills and bloomer suits into her school in Benicia, and whom Sally probably helped while they were both in Oberlin.

Mrs. Johnston's principalship began in 1870. In 1874 a small frame building was made into a women's gymnasium. In 1880 the building was destroyed by fire, but in 1881 an addition to the Ladies' Hall was built, and the first story became the young women's gymnasium—the best provision for physical training that Oberlin had thus far made for either sex. Mrs. Johnston was coming into her own. She was always an opportunist in her swift and sure perception of the right moment to further her designs, but she never abandoned her purposes. In this particular instance she was fully aware of the desperate and increasing need of Oberlin women for systematic physical training. But the college was in straits for money, and scientific physical education under trained instructors was still a novelty in most colleges. Moreover the need of the young men was really more urgent. She cut the Gordian knot by discovering Delphine Hanna of Fairport, New York. Miss Hanna, while still a grade teacher, had been so deeply impressed

THE AGE OF MADAME JOHNSTON

with what she learned of the physical needs and disabilities of the girls under her charge that she had resolved to devote herself to the physical training of girls and young women. In the summer of 1884 she attended the summer course of Dio Lewis and in the fall she enrolled with Dr. Dudley Allen Sargent of Harvard. She added to his instruction sundry extras such as the diagnosis and treatment of lateral spinal curvature, and the Delsarte principles of poise and balance. Then she looked for a place to teach.

It is one thing to supply the public with what it wants, but quite another to induce it to take what it needs. Even in the eighties the somewhat general interest in physical training had not yet crystallized into a demand. Besides, such positions as were open to women were still felt to be casual or temporary. The idea of a woman's fitting herself for a lifelong profession had not yet been assimilated. Miss Hanna wanted work in a normal school, from which she could reach the children in the public schools through their teachers. She tried the eight normal schools in the state of New York, but nearly all were without a gymnasium. In one a gymnasium was in process of installation but the authorities thought a woman of thirty-one too old! When she found that the New York normal schools were out of the question, she tried other schools. One of her letters was written to Mrs. Johnston at Oberlin. In it she used as reference the name of Miss Julia Dickinson of Freeport.

We have seen that it 'happened' that the Oberlin women had the first essential—a good gymnasium floor, albeit too small for many uses. It also 'happened' that Mrs. Johnston knew Miss Dickinson. One 'happening' was as char-

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

acteristic as the other. Mrs. Johnston was never a college beggar, but she had extraordinary success in finding money for specific objects, because she always 'happened' to know people who became interested. She went to Fairport, met Miss Hanna, and stayed the night with Miss Dickinson. She asked Miss Hanna to name the smallest salary upon which she could live for a year, with the hope, but not the promise, of fair remuneration after that time. She believed that a single year of systematic gymnasium work in Oberlin would demonstrate its necessity, and the result more than justified her forecast.

Miss Dickinson gave Miss Hanna \$300 for equipment; there was none worthy of the name. Every cent of the \$300 was made to do its utmost. Two local carpenters did most of the work under her direction. "She knows how to order things just as well as a man," they said.

In addition to her regular classes of undergraduates, and to one of school children and one of 'faculty ladies,' Miss Hanna offered to train a class of college men, so that they might teach classes in the men's gymnasium. Among the undergraduate men who thus came under her instruction and were influenced by her convictions, were three who chose the promotion of physical welfare for their life work, and all attained eminent success. One of these, Dr. Fred Eugene Leonard, after completing his professional studies, returned to Oberlin to organize and direct the physical education of the men, to plan the Warner Gymnasium, and to make notable contributions to the literature of his subject through his magazine articles and books. His *History of Physical Education* is a classic in its line.

THE AGE OF MADAME JOHNSTON

Thus passed the busy fall and early winter, but hardly had the new year begun when the women's department met with a major disaster. Ladies' Hall, except the gymnasium annex, burned to its outer bricks. The gymnasium indeed survived, but it suffered a twofold desolation. At first it was supposed that the entire building must go and Miss Hanna's precious apparatus was snatched out pell-mell, the pulley weights chopped out with axes, dynamometers, spirometer, measuring rods scattered hither and yon through the snow. As soon as it was found that the annex could be saved, it was crammed with salvage from the main building. Furniture of varied sorts, the hash for the morning's breakfast topped by a pair of shoes belonging to the cook, and a large assortment of bustles were among the articles noted and remembered.

The next day Miss Hanna spent cold and weary hours riding from place to place in a farm wagon, searching the trampled snow and the piles of mingled rubbish and valuables, finding and rescuing her treasures. Utterly discouraged, she went to Mrs. Johnston to say that she must go home. Mrs. Johnston applied Spartan methods. She refused point-blank to release her. Instead she set her at hard work—the identification and proper distribution of the personal property of the ninety young women whose belongings had been massed in Sturges Hall. We may fancy the busy brain of Mrs. Johnston already planning ways to retrieve the disaster and turn it into victory. She did it. In less than two years Ladies' Hall had been replaced by Baldwin Cottage and Talcott Hall, and a new standard of comfort and comeliness had been set for the

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

women of Oberlin College. Both of the large gifts which made these buildings possible were secured by Mrs. Johnston. It was quick work but she 'happened' to know the Baldwins and the Talcotts.

One immediate result of the fire was that the whole annex, both stories, was turned over to the gymnasium. This is still the nucleus of the women's department of physical education, though now supplemented by another and much larger floor and by the necessary supply of baths, dressing rooms and offices. It cannot be called a first-class plant, but much first-class work has been done there.

The full story of Dr. Hanna's permanent constructive work would be very long. The thoroughness of her physical examinations and the high quality of her corrective prescriptions are beyond question. The charts she published have been much used and quoted. Almost thirty years ago, when the graduates of her teachers' training course were comparatively few, Dr. Hanna listed the positions then filled by them. She counted fifty in college and university positions, sixty-four in the Y.W.C.A., with smaller numbers in high schools, normal schools, summer schools, special schools, and playgrounds.

Like Sturges Hall and the college arboretum, a project originated by women for the needs of women has become a benefit to all. This is right. If women could not give as well as receive, they would have no place in any college.

Galpin Field and the Crane Swimming Pool are two of Dr. Hanna's dreams come true in the time of an able successor trained by her. The most gratifying part of these additions to the equipment is that they are the fruit of

THE AGE OF MADAME JOHNSTON

student loyalties. The parents of alumnæ gave them. The wife and mother of four Oberlin graduates made the first gift toward a new gymnasium.

Dr. Hanna, while still retaining the directorship of the gymnasium, was able to repair the deficiencies of her early education. She obtained earned degrees from Cornell, Michigan, and Oberlin. She spent three summers in the Harvard Summer School, and studied medical gymnastics in Germany and Switzerland. Of course this implied considerable absence from Oberlin, which Mrs. Johnston's enlightened approval made possible. It was fitting that the first full professorships bestowed by Oberlin upon women should come to Mrs. Johnston and to Delphine Hanna.

The selection of Dr. Hanna for a place in the Michigan Hall of Fame was a well deserved honor, as was the honorary fellowship bestowed upon her by the American Physical Education Association.

Miss Dickinson died in 1893. Her will shows how intimately she associated the woman who was discovered and the woman who discovered her. She left the college \$40,000 to aid in the endowment of two chairs—those of dean of women and of director of the women's gymnasium.

FRUITION

Mrs. Johnston still worked and waited for the full recognition of women upon the Oberlin faculty, but this was slow in coming. It was the privilege of the women's colleges to open the way to this goal. Vassar, Smith, Wellesley had Oberlin women upon their faculties with professorial rank before Mrs. Johnston had passed the grade of

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

instructor. We have seen that in the seventies Oberlin surrendered her opposition to public speaking by a woman, but not until 1888 was Mrs. Johnston invited to address the whole student body at a 'Thursday lecture.' Her brilliant address was so well received that the occasion became an ovation, but still the faculty hesitated to confer the sacred title of 'professor' upon any woman, however gifted.

About this time a severe object lesson was bestowed upon the college. There had been a well-defined opportunity to choose between a superior woman and an inferior man. They had chosen the man, with disastrous results. This was largely due to the influence of one conservative professor, and perhaps it heartened the progressives. At any rate, in 1890 the faculty voted to confer upon Mrs. Johnston the full rank and dignity of professorship. It was contrary to precedent to pass over the grades of assistant and associate professor, but now they were so thoroughly converted that they declared it only justice to confer the full title at once. To Mrs. Johnston this was far more than a personal triumph. She had won her objective for women.

In Mrs. Johnston's later years, two generations had come and gone since the opening of the higher education to women. The new conception of women's rights and duties had spread abroad like the prophet's "handful of corn in the earth on the top of the mountains," and the fruit had begun to "shake like Lebanon." Younger men had taken the helm, men to whom the old definitions of the sphere of women seemed meaningless, and the artificial limitations upon their activities, preposterous. After Mrs. Johnston's professorship other evidences of the changing world came

THE AGE OF MADAME JOHNSTON

to her in quick succession. She was often asked to address large audiences. The antiquated title of Principal of the women's department was changed to that of Dean; the alumni elected her to the board of trustees. It was found that by Ohio law the same person could not serve as a college trustee and draw a college salary, but the faculty elected her to membership upon the prudential committee. It was a recognition of the desire of the alumni to honor her place among the administrative forces of the college.

In 1906 Western Reserve University conferred upon Mrs. Johnston the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. All recognition she prized highly, because it was to her the token of victory in a lifelong contest. She had said that she would stay in Oberlin because she had something to do. She had done it thoroughly and well.

Mrs. Johnston's rich and vital nature had room for many unexpected balances. I do not call them contradictions, because she was never at war with herself. Her thought and convictions always justified and unified her actions. But it is interesting that this woman, with her services for the more modern valuation of women, should be in conduct and conviction conservative. For herself she took no chances of compromising situations and wagging tongues. She would take none for her girls. Indoor and outdoor hours, their dress, their special permissions, their chaperones, must be so ordered as to place them, like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion. Her administration ushered in a time of more rigid rules, but she so fascinated the house matrons and charmed the girls that she achieved the well nigh impossible—she withdrew privileges and inaugurated stricter

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

discipline with the hearty cooperation of those concerned.

Mrs. Johnston was a staunch supporter of the women's board, and especially prized the traditional personnel—mostly married women with families of their own. Those of us who knew her logical processes of thought still marvel that she did not see that the unity in instruction and instructors which she desired would end that dual administration which she defended, and that the change of title from 'principal' to 'dean' marked its decadence. The principal of the women's department was a sovereign in her own right; the dean of the women's department only slightly less so; but when her successor became dean of women, and when the independent board of managers was abolished, there was nothing left of the original female department.

It goes without saying that a woman of Mrs. Johnston's positive nature, living for thirty years in that fierce light that beats upon a college dean, did not always escape criticism—and did not sometimes give just cause for criticism. However, it seems quite clear to me that her long reign, autocratic though it surely was, preserved the noble traditions of the college, while at the same time it beautified and enlarged the college life and opened the way for the inevitable entrance into the modern college world.

She made some regrettable personal contacts, and there were always those whom she antagonized, but I have yet to hear of the single individual whom she bored.

"Just walk into the office where Madame Johnston sat," writes an alumna, "and draw your own conclusions. Like her? What difference would it make whether you did or didn't? She was a PERSON."

Chapter Eight

QUO VADIS? CUI BONO?

MADAME JOHNSTON resigned her office in the year 1900, a date which marks, as well as a date can mark a process, the end of Oberlin's pioneer period. Subsequent changes have been less formative than adaptive and tend toward maintaining and improving the norm of a standard American college rather than opening new paths which others might follow if they would.

A college group which cherishes its own traditions is naturally reluctant to admit that its alma mater is becoming just like other colleges. In fact this need not be admitted if we refer to that intangible inner quality which differentiates some colleges, just as some families keep their individuality through successive generations in a changing world.

Perhaps the religious and humanitarian interests of Oberlin form her most enduring link with her past, greatly as these interests have changed in their outward manifestations. The women's part in Oberlin's religious and philanthropic history cannot be separated from that of the men, for in their deepest and most potent interests the women and men have always stood side by side. The college had its

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

origin in the intense religious convictions of the time; Shipherd, Mahan, Finney, were all men of the prophetic type. In the Middle Ages such a confluence of spiritual forces would have resulted in new orders of monks and nuns. In the early nineteenth century there was a possibility of a separatist community, with a special ritual, a stationary science, and strict conformity in the matter of bonnets and buttons. But in earliest Oberlin there were forces at work which served to preserve its balance, insure its growth, and keep it in vital contact with the outside world.

First, while the grade of the collegiate institute was still undetermined, the enrollment of the four young men who were prepared for any freshman class made it expedient to offer college work in 1834. Moreover, the general anti-slavery agitation of the early thirties resulted in a considerable realignment of institutions and shifting of student bodies, which brought to Oberlin a number of students who entered with advanced standing. In 1836 each of the three classes of the theological department and the four classes of the college had a considerable membership. This student body called for college trained teachers of high quality and for connection with the world of scholarship and thought.

Then there was the presence of Charles Grandison Finney, one of the greatest men of his time. With his magnetic personality and his irresistible logic he might have built up as splendid a structure of mistakes as Calvin or Edwards, had he not possessed one quality which they did not. He recognized the transitory nature, not of truth, but man's apprehension of truth. "Don't quote Finney

QUO VADIS? QUI BONO?

to me!" was his reply to a student who asked him to reconcile a statement which he had just made with a book he had written some years before. Oberlin owes to Finney its traditional freedom of thought. He saw to it that the department of theology should never have a creed. When new and strange scientific facts and theories have presented themselves they have caused no earthquakes here. Oberlin theology has never been forced to mount guard over its dogmas.

As the years passed the religious influences became less intense than at first though still pervasive, buttressed by much compulsory attendance, yet also sustained by much voluntary response. It was the era of the young peoples' prayer-meeting.

Once people concealed their bodies carefully but did not try to hide their souls; now they are reticent about their souls but frank about their bodies. We find that both moods go to harmful extremes—emotional displays or self-conscious, prudish reserves of both souls and bodies. It is possible that an old-fashioned prayer-meeting at its best, with its simple comradeship, its questions and discussions, its atmosphere of hope and trust, would be as good for the modern moods of men's souls as sun and air are for their limbs and lungs. At any rate the young peoples' meetings of this middle period—the Monday evening meeting led by Professor Frost, the early Sunday morning class of Professor, later President King and those classes of Dr. Bosworth, will never be forgotten or undervalued by those who knew what they were.

While women attended all these gatherings, there was

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

one led by Mrs. Johnston for women alone. Much of the conscious and expressed religious life of the young women centered about this Sunday evening hour. Mrs. Johnston gave it the best she had; it was singularly inspiring, yet sane and wholesome, too.

The time came when this meeting did not exactly fulfill the needs of the modern college women. They wanted a share in the work, and Mrs. Johnston brooked no rival near her throne. Perhaps it meant that the old order was changing, giving place to new. Perhaps it was a swing around the circle, back to the greater initiative of primitive Oberlin. At all events the meeting was discontinued in 1894 and a branch of the Young Women's Christian Association was organized. This is still useful and flourishing.

Finally, the college and the community were never self-centered or designed to serve only those who should take refuge in their midst. They were meant for large outside service.

In the first third-century Oberlin's great humanitarian interest was anti-slavery. In the second it was temperance. The organization of the Anti-Saloon League here is a matter of common knowledge, but we have almost forgotten the earlier struggle for the first local option law, though all that was at first asked was the right to bar the saloon from college towns whose inhabitants so desired. It was a grim fight, for the liquor interests were determined that no smallest community, by standing forth and saying, "You are not our masters," should set an example of rebellion against their domination.

It is interesting to note that the last third of Oberlin's

QUO VADIS? QUI BONO?

century has witnessed the growth and consolidation of a sentiment for peace and the formation of a strong peace society. Three great foes of civilization—slavery, strong drink, and war—have been met and faced at Oberlin College.

THE MARRIAGE RATE

Professor Louis D. Hartson, who has made a thorough study of extensive data collected in 1926, finds that the marriage rate for Oberlin alumnae has remained about the same through the present century, and seems to be practically stationary. About sixty per cent of the women of the early 1900's have married, but the marriage rate for Oberlin's century reveals a constant decline. If matches are made in heaven, the angels must confess progressive failure. If they are to be classed with other earthly happenings, they depend largely upon environment. Of the many moulding influences, we can trace only a few, but these have much to tell us of the general situation. In the first decade of graduation, the combined marriage rate for the ladies' course and the women in the full college course was 97½%. For the women in the full college course alone, it was a round one hundred per cent. Most of them married ministers or theologically trained college professors, and this of course suggests the unified ideal of Oberlin from the earliest years.

If the 'single idea' was the cause of the very high marriage rate, it was bound to fall as soon as convictions and aims began to take on complexities. In the middle forties there came an abrupt decrease in the number of men pass-

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

ing from the college course to the theological, and the marriage rate for the second decade was 80.6. It is not fanciful to see a connection. Moreover, while this rate was maintained through the first five years of the third decade, it then abruptly dropped to 75. These were the bitterest years of the Civil War and its aftermath. A deeply significant part of this sad page of history is that peace did not restore the earlier marriage rate or even stay its downward course; the effects of war do not end with the boy who sleeps under alien skies and the girl who keeps the far tryst. The war god said to women, "I am taking your husband, your lover, your son, but I am giving you a job!" During the Civil War it was discovered that women were better fitted than men to perform certain delicate tasks in government offices. School superintendents found that the right woman made a capital administrator for a school building. Gruesome hospital experiences proclaimed the crying need for trained nurses. Women attained success in other occupations, with better salaries and more secure positions. These changes had a permanent effect upon the marriage rate. After the war had become history and the girls whose lives it shattered had grown old and died, there were still far more chances of a successful single life than in the good old days.

This does not tell the whole story. There are crimes of civilization other than war which disturb the natural balance of the sexes and divide them in sympathy and aims. Until these are corrected, it is surely well that the colleges should open the way to a happy and useful life for the women who do not marry.

QUO VADIS? QUI BONO?

OCCUPATIONS

This brings us to the study of women's occupations and what is indicated by them, now that there is a measure of freedom of choice. The moving finger is forever writing something new, but it has never ceased to trace its record of change upon the unchanging bases of life. After this manner it is now tracing the story of women's changing occupations. Returning to Professor Hartson's tables, we find, for the Oberlin alumnae living in 1926, the following percentages:

Homemaking	39.97
Education and library work.....	33.82
Medicine and nursing	1.58
Religious and missionary work	2.32
Social and Y.W.C.A. work	3.48
	81.17

If we subtract from the remaining 18.83%, 4.61% for the unlocated, unemployed, retired, and those with occupations unknown, we have 14.22% distributed among the callings of agriculture, art, business, government service, journalism, law, music, scientific and secretarial work, and the miscellaneous occupations chosen by a few. No comprehensive survey has since been made of the occupations of alumnae, but studies of a few of the recently graduated classes indicate to Professor Hartson that it is reasonably clear that Oberlin students of today are starting out along the same general trails blazed for them by their predecessors throughout the earlier generations. The main difference is that as

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

in other colleges more of them are doing graduate work before entering their professions.

It is heartening, as well as interesting, to find that in the sudden extension of women's activities their dominant achievement is still human well-being, not in the abstract sense of producing 'wealth' instead of 'illth,' but in concrete aid to the welfare of individuals. It is good to find that the occupations which college women find most congenial and to which they are most readily admitted, are those which require the same qualities needed for the intelligent and beneficent management of a home. The old-time inference was that a woman's rightful sphere was bounded by her four walls. May we see the day when intelligent and thoroughly trained women shall put the final healing touch upon the cruelties and failures of our community life.

If women are to develop their great specialty, the first requisite is to know more about it, beginning with the individual home. President Wilkins has wisely suggested that since homemaking is likely to be either a principal or a secondary occupation for most women, home economics should be for them "at least a secondary field of college specialization." Yet housewifery itself is no longer an isolated occupation. Through the connection of home and city hygiene, through the child and his school, through the daily paper, through the radio and the cinema, the modern American homemaker finds the responsibilities of civic life thrust upon her. No longer is the wise use of a husband's current income her only financial province. It has come to pass that a very large part of America's accumulated wealth passes into the hands of women.

QUO VADIS? QUI BONO?

The spending of a large part of a nation's resources is no light responsibility, and the woman buyer should not be left at the mercy of the back-cover advertisement or the wiles of the persuasive investment sharper. She needs knowledge and self-discipline. But the sciences and quasi-sciences which treat of humanity in its great experiment of living are difficult, and have not in the past been especially attractive to women. It was to an older generation that a German philosopher remarked that there was perhaps no subject which a woman could not understand, but very many things in which she could never learn to be interested. Since then we have seen women become interested in many things which Rudolph Hermann Lotze would have excluded from their scope of attention. Modern college women are coming to realize new responsibilities and they are trying to meet them as gallantly as the first college women met and vanquished *Grotius de Veritate* and the Hebrew tongue.

Wider knowledge and deeper understanding of these responsibilities will surely be followed by greater authority, not to compete with men in the things they do so well, but to supplement them in the things they have done so ill.

There are those in the progressive camp who are uneasy over the fact that the recorded achievement of college alumnae does not approach that of the alumni of the same period. This may afford unpalatable though wholesome food for the thought of the aggressive feminist, but most of us find in this no reason for anxiety or mortification. The first and most potent reason is that three fifths of the alumnae and these by no means the less gifted of their

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

number, will marry. We must expect, and hope, that most of these women will devote the best energies of their best years to the establishment of a home and the rearing of a family. There are magnificent exceptions which will occur to all of us; but it is utterly unreasonable for a woman to attempt to attain eminent success both within and without her home. Our grandmothers used to tell us that there are only one hundred cents in a dollar. This is a truth of wide application.

Concerning the remaining two fifths of alumnae (together with those who *do* find a career compatible with wedlock) we ought to know, and claim, that the advance of women into noteworthy achievement has been singularly rapid.

Though no one can say that even now women have achieved complete equality, we cannot undervalue the spirit of fair play with which most American men have responded to the new demands of women. We cannot expect the attitudes and the habits of uncounted centuries to be completely reversed at once. In fact we do not yet know how fully women can equal men in positions of leadership. We know that some can, and do, but that does not settle everything. Patience and hard work will bring the proper adjustments. Nothing else can.

In the meantime, women are not waiting for the millennium, but are helping to usher it in. Among the new activities of Oberlin women, which are largely extensions of age-old interests and duties, I note a directorship of the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago; a woman investigator for the United States Children's Bureau; a writer

QUO VADIS? QUI BONO?

on the problems of underprivileged children; two women engaged in the solution of two of our most serious social problems—the race question and the evils of hasty and ignorant marriage. In Washington there are two writers on social topics, one of whom is an appointed adviser to the Women's Bureau, and the other a member of the senior staff of the Institute of Government Research. Oberlin is honored by the choice of one of its graduates as Jane Addams' successor as the head of Hull House.

Instances like these might be taken from any college group, and their sum is an indication of something new and promising in our national life.

A woman of wide experience in education once said, "You may educate a girl exactly as you educate a boy. She can do the work and pass the examinations as well as he, but when you are through with them both you do not have the same result."

The answer may well be, "Do we want the same result?"

THE OBERLIN WOMAN ABROAD

From the first the interests of Oberlin have been far flung. This has never been a local college. Mrs. Dascomb writes in 1835 that "the females are very interesting. Most of them are from other states and many from a distance."

Connections with foreign countries have always been numerous and of varied nature. Missionary work began with earliest Oberlin; the story of Oberlin women who have given their lives for the less privileged peoples would require a volume of its own. The advantages of Europe in medicine, music, and art made an early appeal to Oberlin

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

alumnae. Margaret Eliza Maltby, for many years associate professor at Barnard College, was among the earliest American women to receive a doctorate from a German university. Professor Florence M. Fitch was the second to receive one from Berlin.

Among the constructive forces of Albania a high place should be accorded Paraskevi Kyrias who received her first degree from the Constantinople Women's College but her A.M. in education from Oberlin. Her school for girls is a center of influence, and Miss Kyrias enjoys a respect and honor rarely accorded any woman anywhere. She was the only woman delegate at the Paris Peace Conference. During the conference she was the acting head of the Albanian delegation, and it was largely through her tact and skill that Albania preserved her independence and was admitted to the League of Nations.

Kathryn Newell Adams of Oberlin and Radcliffe was the president of the Woman's College of Constantinople. The heroic rescue work of Mary Louise Graffam in the Near East should not be forgotten, nor the medical services of Dr. Ruth Parmlee in the American Women's Hospital at Athens. Florence May Snell, Ph.D. of Yale, and Litt.D. of Oberlin, gave twenty-five years of eminent service as professor of English at Huguenot University College, with membership on the council of the University of South Africa. Emma Faith Parmelee, '06, has an outstanding record as general secretary for Y.W.C.A. work in Ceylon.

We are glad to count among Oberlin women Amy Tapping, '06, and to chronicle the remarkable investigation and organization in behalf of the children of Puerto Rico,

QUO VADIS? QUI BONO?

conducted under the appointment of President Hoover, and continued at the request of Governor Theodore Roosevelt.

The names of Oberlin alumnae upon the Memorial Arch on the campus, erected after the massacre of Oberlin missionaries in China during the Boxer uprising, should remind us, not alone of those who gave the last full measure of devotion, but of the many who have devoted their lives to the needs of the Orient. Prominent among these was Luella Miner, '84, teacher, writer, organizer, administrator, president of the first woman's college of China, later dean of women at the Shangtung University, and president of the association which became the Red Cross of China. It was Miss Miner who made it possible for Mr. Fei and Dr. K'ung, the 'Two Heroes of Cathay,' escaped from the Boxer massacres of 1900, to come to Oberlin for their education. Both are now prominent citizens of the New China, and one, Dr. K'ung, is a distinguished statesman, a leading figure in the Nationalist Government of China, and brother-in-law of Chiang Kai-shek.

'Oberlin-in-China' is a phrase of definite meaning, referring as it does to the school, hospital, industrial, and agricultural center at Taiku, Shansi Province, China, which, since its founding by a group of Oberlin men and women in 1881, has had so many close connections with Oberlin students and alumni. Although nearly annihilated in the Boxer uprising of 1900, this school for Chinese youth was opened again in 1907 under the direction of Mr. Paul Corbin, Oberlin '03, in affiliation with the American Board. Since that time it has grown steadily in enrollment and effective service. Although in recent years, under the direc-

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

tion of Dr. K'ung, most of the teachers of the Oberlin Memorial Schools at Taiku have been native graduates of the school, the constant influx of undergraduate men and women from the Oberlin campus, going out for their two-year terms has done much to maintain the high enthusiasm of those Chinese boys and girls who are thus in China carrying on the Oberlin tradition of coeducation. Graduates of this Oberlin-in-China are among the most distinguished women of the Orient today. Ai Kiuchi Tsuchiyi, who organized and established the department of physical education in the Women's College of Tokyo; Hui Ching Yen Lin, an M.D. of Johns Hopkins and a physician in the Union Medical College of Peking; Mary Huang, dean of women at the College of Commerce in Shanghai, are all graduates of Oberlin-in-China. Thus the door that was opened to women in 1837 in the Black Swamp of northern Ohio has helped to open the door to wider horizons for women in the land of the rice paddies and lotus flowers.

COEDUCATION OR SEGREGATION?

College coeducation, starting with the little 'college in the woods,' has become the dominant educational type of our country, numerically and geographically. It is the favorite in all but the Atlantic states. Of course nobody would claim that size is a safe criterion of educational values, or any criterion at all, except as it indicates the natural and the feasible. These last, however, are not unimportant qualities unless we subscribe to the theory that liberal education is for the privileged few.

QUO VADIS? QUI BONO?

Anyone with considerable experience with both types of education may be unwilling, and indeed unable, to pronounce upon their relative excellence, as if one were the rival of the other. Each has its advantages and its limitations, while the main practical consideration is beyond dispute. For many years to come we cannot do without all we have, and more, if we are to do justice to the young women who ask for college training and are worthy of it.

Furthermore, there are in each system certain advantages which are difficult to combine into a coherent whole. In a women's college a gifted girl stands out as she cannot in a company of men *and* women. She may be a natural leader, but in coeducational institutions she will never be president of her class, or of the college annual, or of the dramatic club. In her usual place as vice-president, she gets no training in leadership; as secretary and treasurer she does the routine work. In a women's college she learns to know and use her powers. When a woman of ability is wanted anywhere in the educational world, the faculty of a women's college can put a finger upon her with a certainty which does not belong to any faculty of a coeducational college.

On the other hand, in a coeducational college both men and women learn to know the opposite sex and to know it with a scale of values fundamentally different from one acquired during week-end parties and Saturday evening dates. This is not a man's world; neither is it a woman's world. It is a world of and for men and women, and a world in which there is a rapidly increasing interdependence, both in business and in the home. Men and women

FATHER SHIPHERD'S MAGNA CHARTA

must learn to work together, to realize each other's strength and weakness, to trust to the one, to have sympathy with the other. I have little interest in plans suggested or on trial for an increasing isolation of the sexes in coeducational colleges. If we are to educate men and women together, let us teach them the art of working together with fairness and without friction in the relations that confront them when they reach the great outside world, and the art of living in pleasant comradeship within the home.

These are times of many vital problems, but the problems that concern men alone or women alone are few indeed. Population, race, the conservation and ownership of natural resources, the conditions of peace, public health, child labor, women's work, the care of the incompetent—questions like these concern both men and women. Their consideration in college classes composed of both men and women has very great advantages, since youth is necessarily self-centered and limited in its outlook unless a wider one is opened.

One hundred years ago four young women applied for admission to the freshman class of Oberlin College. Four years later three of the number had completed a standard college course and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. That day was, and still is, a unique occasion, since they were not carrying out the plan of any founder or donor or educator. Father Shipherd had opened the door. The rest was due to their own initiative.

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